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**TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF AN INSIDE  
OUT PERSPECTIVE ON CITY BRANDING- A  
GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF LEEDS AND  
ISTANBUL**

**VOLUME 1**

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**PHD**

**2016**

Toward an understanding of an inside out perspective on city branding - a  
grounded theory study of Leeds and Istanbul

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Submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Management  
University of Bradford  
2016

## **Abstract**

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Toward an understanding of an inside out perspective on city branding - a grounded theory study of Leeds and Istanbul

Keywords: City branding, place brand identity, grounded theory, identity

Adopting an inside out perspective to city branding, this doctoral thesis examines the significance of residents and their relationship towards cities in terms of association, identity and ownership of the physical environment, in the context of city branding. This is important because the growing interest towards city branding not only challenged the traditional understanding of branding concepts but also forced academics and practitioners to seek ways to mould and shape existing concepts to the context of city branding.

This qualitative study was undertaken within a constructivist grounded theory methodology and uses Leeds, UK and Istanbul, Turkey as deliberately contrasting case studies. In accordance with grounded theory, the literature was only used to inform rather than direct the research design. The sampling design involved initial and theoretical sampling and in total of 22 residents interviewed from both cities.

The emergent place brand identity mosaic comprises of four main categories of social process (SP), place attachment (PA), sense of place (SoP) and built environment (BE), and the most significant feature of the place identity mosaic is that it is processual, dynamic, and time and context specific. In terms of contribution to knowledge, the present study bridges the gap in between the subject fields of branding (brand management) and urban studies by proposing an inside out approach to branding cities. The findings indicate that the place brand identity mosaic elements provide a platform to explain how residents make sense of where they live and to begin to

understand the concept of the city brand identity. Moreover, in regards to practice, it brings a new perspective to the existing city managements by highlighting a focal point of “keeping the existing customers happy” through investigating and understanding the role and significance of residents, their attachment to where they live and how this insight can be cooperated into creating and developing a sustainable city brand.

## **Acknowledgements**

Indeed PhD research is a solo acting however there are so many people behind the scenes that I would like to thank, so please bear with me...

I would like to thank my family: Osman & Rabiya, Mustafa & Ceren and Neva (aka lentil, aka bundle of joy). I couldn't have done this without your endless support. You are sources of inspiration and happiness.

I don't know if it is possible to thank my supervisors, Dr Myfanwy Trueman and Dr Rachael Maxwell, enough for all the things you both have done for me; most importantly for their shared trust and belief in me.

*Dr Trueman*, I first came across your work when I was a Masters student – I was a lot younger and with a few less greys in my hair. Your work inspired me to carry on digging this interesting subject field and here we are. Thanks for asking if I would like a coffee, if I had enough coffee, if I had my weekly happy hour and welcoming me to your house on several occasions. Ps. I promise I will try and integrate page numbers and graphs more into my future work- page numbers really do help.

*Dr Maxwell*, it still amazes me how anyone can turn around a feedback request in such attention to detail, in such a short time- this was my doing as I always left my drafts to the very last minute! Thank you for being there each time I randomly knocked on your office door or when I sent a late night help seeking email. Thank you for encouraging me to be a confident writer and an academic.

Also, *Dr Roger Beach*, your constructive approach to my work has been so inspiring. And *Jackie Franklin*, you have the patience of saints. You are a star.

I would also like to thank my colleagues in Leeds Beckett University for their great support over the years. I have learnt a lot from so many of you.

Thank you, Aslihan and Carla for listening to me having a monologue/ rant/ laugh at my own jokes from the other side of the world, mainly during the category development and findings process. I promise you that was a temporary phase, I promise. The concept of time and distance is irrelevant to us.

Lastly, I would like to thank Oreos for being there for me when there was no one around, you kept me going through late nights, early mornings.

*To my grandfather*



## **Table of Contents**

<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.Chapter Introduction .....</b>	<b>2</b>
1.1 Research Origins and Context .....	2
1.2 Research Rationale and Significance .....	3
1.3 Methodology and the Setting.....	7
1.4 Structure of the Thesis .....	8
<b>CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND LITERATURE .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2.Chapter Introduction .....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Cities, their purposes and significance .....	10
2.2 City Branding and Identity .....	14
2.3 Spatial Identity, Place Attachment and Brand Ownership .....	22
2.4 Key Focus Areas of Research.....	27
<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>3.Chapter Introduction .....</b>	<b>31</b>
3.1 Philosophical Orientation of the Research .....	31
3.1.1 Interpretivism, Qualitative Research and Marketing .....	36
3.2 Research Methodology.....	40
3.2.1 Grounded Theory Methodology.....	40
3.2.2 Choice of the Cases and Sampling .....	46
<b>CHAPTER 4: CATEGORY DEVELOPMENT AND FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>4.Chapter Introduction .....</b>	<b>52</b>

4.1 The Emergence of the Core and Interweaving Categories.....	53
4.1.1 Overview of the Core Categories .....	56
4.2 The Emergence of Place Brand Identity Mosaic .....	66
4.2.1 Construction of Social Process.....	68
4.2.1.1 <i>Social Process</i> in Leeds .....	69
4.2.1.2 <i>Social Process</i> in Istanbul .....	77
4.2.1.3 Making sense of Social Process in Leeds and Istanbul .....	83
4.2.2 Construction of Place Attachment .....	86
4.2.2.1 <i>Place Attachment</i> in Leeds.....	87
4.2.2.2 <i>Place Attachment</i> in Istanbul.....	92
4.2.2.3 Making sense of Place Attachment in Leeds and Istanbul .....	96
4.2.3 Construction of Sense of Place .....	99
4.2.3.1 <i>Sense of Place</i> in Leeds.....	101
4.2.3.2 <i>Sense of Place</i> in Istanbul .....	105
4.2.3.3 Making sense of Sense of Place in Leeds and Istanbul .....	108
4.2.4 Construction of Built Environment .....	111
4.2.4.1 <i>Built Environment</i> in Leeds.....	112
4.2.4.1 <i>Built Environment</i> in Istanbul.....	117
4.2.3.3 Making sense of Built Environment in Leeds and Istanbul .....	123
4.3 Overview of Place Brand Identity Mosaic.....	126

<b>CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>5.Chapter Introduction .....</b>	<b>131</b>
5.1 Implications for Theory .....	133
5.1.1 Implications for Social Process in Place Brand Identity .....	134
5.1.2 Implications for Place Attachment in Place Brand Identity .....	139
5.1.3 Implications for Sense of Place in Place Brand Identity .....	144
5.1.4 Implications for Built Environment in Place Brand Identity .....	145
5.2 Implications for Practice .....	148
5.3 Limitations and Further Research .....	150
5.4 Conclusion.....	152
 APPENDICES	
Interview Guide.....	157
Interview Sample Transcripts-Leeds .....	159
Interview Sample Transcripts- Istanbul .....	186
 REFERENCES.....	205



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

## **1. Chapter Introduction**

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide an outline for this thesis research. The chapter will start by discussing the origins and context of the research; its rationale and significance; the methodology and setting. The chapter will conclude by outlining the structure of the thesis.

### **1.1 Research origins and context**

This thesis has its origins based on a fundamental and significant issue that is not only attracting an avalanche of academic interest but also, more importantly, it influences people's lives on a daily basis. This thesis studies primarily the concept of identity within urban spaces, in the context of city branding. Indeed the 'concept of identity' poses several questions and perspectives, such as whose, and, what is identity, which one to choose to focus on and why. The present study focuses on the relationship between residents' identity and the place they inhabit by exploring the meaning associations created by the residents in regards to the urban.

Choosing to focus on the residents amongst the other stakeholders was significant for this study because previous literature suggests very little emphasis on the role and influence of residents in place branding, and cities in particular. The extant literature in the subject field of marketing, as well as branding, suggests that there is now a shift in interest from the traditional borders of marketing to places whilst environmental and urban studies often

overlooked the concept of branding places. Therefore, the current research into bringing the two subject fields to a parallel position in order to understand the depths of place brand identity for a more sustainable approach to city branding is significant and timely.

## **1.2 Research rationale and significance**

Over the years many cities have often experienced an identity crisis in a post-industrial world (Skinner, 2008; Trueman *et al*, 2008, Kotler and Gertner, 2002). Consequently, city planners have to review the fundamental purpose and rationale of the urban within the context of 21<sup>st</sup> century requirements; often with the aim of rebranding and marketing places in a revised context (Kavaratzis, 2004; Trueman *et al*, 2008). It is therefore not surprising that opportunities for rebranding are tempting as city brand managers re-examine the identity of cities in a post industrial environment and strive to overcome negative perceptions about places, as well as to attract visitors, new businesses and residents as well as powerful stakeholders and financial investment (Kavaratzis, 2004; Gilmore, 2002; Goodwin, 1993).

Until recently, the term 'city branding' has been most associated within the context of tourism related marketing literature (Tasci and Kozak, 2006; Hankinson, 2001; Kotler *et al.*, 1993; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005), indicating an outside-in approach towards marketing places, often in an attempt to gain a wider perspective of a city (Price and Brodie, 2001). Whilst it is a relatively new subject field within branding and marketing, the tourism

literature has been adopting the fundamentals of city branding as more of a promotional tool and applied in convenience and on an ad hoc basis rather than for a strategic competitive advantage. However, such an approach in tourism may have revealed some initial success, it is considered to be lacking depth, short-lived and fragmented rather than comprehensive, since it ignores local communities.

Graham (2002) mentions of two existing parallels of cities that exist simultaneously. First one being external city which is the base of an “urban conversation” through landmarks and signature buildings and second one being is the internal city which is concerned about the social inclusions (and exclusion), diversity, multiculturalism and lifestyle (Graham, 2002; Kavaratzis, 2004). In relation, Kavaratzis (2004) suggested that the crucial point for the city management is the point of interaction and overlapping of these two parallel cities. Cova’s (1996) stance on the post-modern marketing supports this where the focus is about identifying the cultural meanings and images that are intended for the marketed.

Indeed the (ideal) images of the city can be created and communicated through to a group/s of external audience, however this wouldn’t allow a point of interaction of the two levels of the city, but rather create two separate levels of the city. One being an external, communicated city where an ideal, desired image is created and presented in isolation to the internal city, and the other being an internal city where what is being reflected is not



necessarily representative of the reality. This perspective indicates the significance of understanding the complexities of the internal level of the city in order to create an 'urban conversation'. This calls for a two-step approach; first, understanding what the internal city entails, meaning constructs and the key stakeholders and two, how this can be communicated.

At this point the difference between residents and tourists is emphasised. Tourists are on the recipients' end of the external city communication line whereas the residents are being the integral part of the creators of the internal city, by creating the aforementioned key internal city values. Furthermore, in support Kavaratzis (2004) highlighted that whilst economic development is essential for residents' basic needs; identification with their cities enables them to associate their personality through the perception of city's image that adds to the desirability of the city.

The notion of urban space and our understanding of places are constantly changing through each new phase of globalisation and population mobility. In parallel with this evolving process, the traditional meaning of places is constantly changing as people relate to and overcome spatial barriers according to their individual needs and perceptions.

The growing interest towards the subject field of city branding not only challenged the traditional understanding of branding concepts but also forced

academics and practitioners to seek ways to mould and shape existing concepts to the context of city branding. However along with the recent developments, the concepts of ownership, attachment, image and identity have assumed a particular significance (Aitken & Campelo, 2011).

Contesting the traditional perspective Ballantyne & Aitken (2007, p.365) suggested that brand image is “a shared reality, dynamically constructed through social interaction” which indicates a continual and organic process rather than an end result of a formulation of a framework (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). However, this interaction between consumers and brands is not merely a two-way dialogue; it brings multiple perspectives by involving consumers to the process of creating, defending and recreating the meanings for the brands (Berthon et al. 2007; Hatch & Schultz, 2008, 2010; Aitken & Campelo, 2011).

In light of this, this research introduces a new perspective to understanding the dynamics of city brand identity by adopting an inside out perspective. It examines the significance of residents and their relationship towards city brands in terms of association, attachment and ownership of the physical environment. The research also explores perceptions held by residents in order to understand the impacts of spatial identity in city branding. It integrates literature from traditional and place branding, urban studies and environmental psychology.

### **1.3 Methodology and the setting**

A qualitative, theory building case study approach has been adopted for this research, following the fundamentals of constructivist grounded theory. This was appropriate due to the nature of the subject field, the purpose of the study and that it allowed the researcher to explore the key meaning constructs and explore their relationship.

Whilst qualitative research provided a platform for in-depth exploration, a selection of cases was essential to frame this thesis. The research was originally designed to include a single case study of Leeds, UK. However as a consequence of the data emergence during the pilot stage, the research was expanded to include a deliberately contrasting case of Istanbul, Turkey.

It is important at this point to highlight that this is not a comparative case study. This modification in research design was proved to be a fresh, new perspective in exploring and understanding the depths of meanings constructed. Lastly, there hasn't been a previous empirical research that studied two cities with distinct cultures such as Istanbul and Leeds in this theoretical context. This fact combined with its design adds this thesis the edge of originality, rigour and robustness.

## **1.4 Structure of Thesis**

It was important for the researcher to incorporate the recommendations of the grounded theory approach. Hence, unlike traditional theses where an extensive literature review is at the driver seat of the research itself, this thesis uses literature as a guiding background information, hence its unconventional structure. This is a key ordering of the constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000) where the focus is on construction of meanings and their potential associations. This also sets the present research apart from a traditional view of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) where the systematic approach to data analysis dominates the design. Furthermore, the researcher gave special attention to the use of terminology throughout the thesis in accordance to the constructivist paradigm of grounded theory.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 introduces the background of the relevant literature in order to provide a platform for the research as well as the key research focus areas and objectives. Chapter 3 presents the methodology and its philosophical underpinning the appropriateness of adopting constructivist grounded theory. Chapter 4 discusses the category development in detail and presents the main findings of the study. Chapter 5 presents the discussion of findings, its theoretical and practical implications. Chapter 5 also includes a discussion of limitations of the study and future research.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND LITERATURE

## **2. Chapter Introduction**

This chapter provides background literature that informs the research. It will start discussing why the cities took the focus of the present study before following on to reviewing the concept of city branding with particular emphasis to the notion of identity. Afterwards, it will highlight the role and influence of residents by discussing spatial identity and brand ownership. The chapter will conclude by research key focus points.

### **2. 1 Cities, their purpose and significance**

It is an easy question to ask what a city might be and its purpose yet it is a lot less easy and complex task to answer. However in order to study such a social matter of spatial identity, sense of place and ownership with the subject focus of cities, it is important to look back into the history of the city and its purpose. This section will highlight the urban and environmental studies strand of the present research by discussing the purpose and significance of cities in perspective of branding, in order to emphasise the concept of cities in comparison to the other notions of place branding literature.

From a historical perspective, the concept of cities was considerably linear in physical terms; bordered, surrounded and protected by the city walls offering safety, shelter and job prospects. Most people have an understanding of what a city is, which is often fed by the experience and landmark images of the city that we are exposed to over the time. In parallel, all these images

provide a platform for people to define and identify the city accordingly to the collection of those images. For instance, holidaymakers of London can be limited to the images of Big Ben, Tower of London, the iconic sign of London underground or red double-decker busses whereas Londoners' (residents of London) image can be overcrowded streets, skyscraper office buildings of Canary Wharf or the inner city traffic.

It is not that these physical aspects of a city are unimportant. However Mumford (1938) and Park and Burgess (1984) emphasised the viewpoint that what makes a city, 'a city' is more to do with the social processes (Pile, 1999). In support Pile (1999) stressed that the city does not express itself alone in physical forms such as buildings and landmarks, nor a social institution that consists of courts, hospitals and schools constitute towards defining a city. Nonetheless, what is significant about cities is that, it brings people together in a way that makes difference to the relationship between them and the city. Whilst most of these landmark images mentioned above are easy to identify and attempt to provide an insight to their own unique identity, Robson (1975) highlighted that the concept of urban environment conjures up various images that might evoke similarity in physical terms yet it is much more difficult to stress the social significance.

An early study about cities, Mumford (1938) posed the question "what is a city?" in 1938, when the Northern American cities were sprawling at an uncontrollable rate and in an unregulated manner. He also argued that the

planners did not emphasise the social relations within the borders of a city (Mumford, 1938) and Pile (1999) later on added that what the urban plans had in common was in which they aimed to separate the city to different aspects and purposes instead of bringing them together.

In accordance, Mumford (1938) looked into a city's existence from two distinct perspectives: a physical means of a city through permanent shelter for assembly, fixed site and durable shelter and social means via social division of labour which serves economically as well as culturally. Mumford (1938, p.93) described the city as:

*“The city is a related collection of primary groups and purposive associations: the first, like family and neighbourhood, are common to all communities, while the second are especially characteristic of city life. These varied groups support themselves through economic organisations that are likewise of a more or less corporate, or at least publicly regulated character; and they are all housed in permanent structures within a relatively limited area.*

*... The city in its complete sense, then, a geographical plexus, an economic organisation, an institutional process, a theatre of social action and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity. “*

At this point it might be argued that there is no need for a focus on cities in terms of business, hospitals, museums and so on if these requirements can



also exist outside large urban centres. Pile (1999) observed that what is distinctive and common about cities is the scale of the physical features and the impact of this on human life. However just a small town with a big hospital or a well-known museum cannot simply be considered as a city, collectively they all contribute towards the identity as well as purpose of a city (Pile, 1999).

Mumford (1938) elaborated on his sociological perspective on cities further by stating that the physical environment of cities, its plans and buildings are a symbol of the citizens' social relatedness to the city and when the physical environment is disordered, the social functions that it serves become harder to identify. This perspective takes a focal point for the present study and will be discussed in further depth throughout the chapter.

More recently, Robson (1975) highlighted that a city is more than a combination of images; it has a social significance, and Pile (1999) drew attention to the social aspects of images of a city and stressed that for many of us it is the intangible aspects of those images make the city distinctive. It is either making money, getting away from it, escaping to it, build dreams around it or culturally tied to it; however much the government and city administrators try and implement, often unplanned, marketing activities to define and communicate a city's purpose and image, the purpose of cities is not so easy to define (Pile, 1999). He considered that each of us has an image or an idea that contributes towards a general understanding of the city

with its opportunities and threats (Pile, 1999). This stance indicates the proposition that the definition and the purpose of cities is in constant flux due to the fact that each requirement, experience and image is different; from holidaymakers' city to businessmen's or families'. Robson (1975), emphasised that all our images about cities echoes a combination of physical, tangible aspects however we may fail to spell out the social significance behind those images.

Indeed examples from the past in the UK, such as Bradford, built upon textiles industry or Portsmouth with its naval history, illustrate this view. The social significance of the citizens of a city reflected upon the physical environment through distinct buildings and city plans. However, the changing nature of the global economy and the decline of traditional industries, as well as, the growing importance of services have resulted in a shift in the way places have started to adopt a more marketing orientated approach (Buncle, 2006; Brown, Fisk and Bitner, 1994). Thus, leaving post-industrial cities to find new purposes and communicate that with its present and potential consumers.

## **2.2 City branding and identity**

The difficulty around defining the notion of identity has served itself as a rich source of discussion in several subject fields from sociology, psychology to branding and urban studies. Especially in the case of the current study, the same complexity presents itself due to its cross and multidisciplinary nature.

Consequently, this section will first look at the connection between identity and brand, and adopt a more collective approach to defining the notion of identity.

Despite the ubiquitous use of the term identity across a plethora of subject fields and its multifaceted nature, the connection between identity and branding has been a strong ground within the business studies yet it is equally unclear as to what this relationship entails. The business practitioners initially used the term identity in graphic design and other visual concepts when, in essence, referring to it as the fundamental attributes of an organisation (Balmer, 2001). Indeed visual identification of an organisation, a corporation or a company has, unquestionably, power. However, these are only a part of the aforementioned fundamental attributes and not defining and absolute.

Balmer (2001) defines organisational identity as a summary of an organisation's tangible and intangible elements that contribute to its distinction and that is a central concept to every organisation. Organisational identity, on the other hand, differs from corporate identity in the sense that the latter emphasises it as a function of leadership and focuses on the visual (Hatch & Schultz, 1997). In support, Balmer (2001) clarifies of the connection between corporate identity and branding as the management of a clearly defined strategic proposition (branding) of the fundamental attributes and

values (identity) in efforts to communicate, differentiate and enhance these to stakeholder groups and networks.

In perspective of the relationship between places and identity, Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) highlighted the importance of places in the construction of self-identity and proposed that self-identity is not only limited to the development of distinctions between the self and others but also to the objects and the places which they are in. Similarly, Tolle (2010) mentioned of urban identity, referring to it as the 'place identity' of a city as a whole, is significant in policies for city development, as it is the notion of "identity" that turns an urban space into a distinct place. He also recognised that urban identity is not based only on design but rather a collective process of interpretation and narratives (Tolle, 2010). This meaning that it is a creation as a result of deliberate selection processes by governments in order to create the intended narrative (Tolle, 2010). This echoes the case of many cities across the globe now in consideration of the purpose of cities in a post-industrial era.

Balmer's (2008) extensive work on the concept of identity within the management literature focuses on two dominant disciplines of corporate and organisational behaviour. From a corporate branding perspective, identity has a greater emphasis on managerial, external usage (Balmer & Greyser, 2003; Balmer, 2008), whereas in organisational studies, it takes a more internal, employee based approach. Importantly, du Gay (1996) noted that

the notion of identity is relational in terms of their existence and is under constant change (Balmer, 2008). This view creates a basis for the outlook on the concept of identity for the present study.

Furthermore, from a traditional branding point of view, Stigel and Friman (2006) stated that the identity of a brand arises from distinctive traits such as designed packaging, name, logo or slogan, which distinguishes the trademark from the product category and competing market(s). In general, a brand usually promises to deliver a number of functional aspects as well as tangible and intangible advantages such as service, replacement and status. Accordingly, Stigel and Friman (2006) also highlighted that construction of a brand identity is not only created with a new name or logo, but it includes the whole process of differentiation of the product/ service through communication with the consumer or stakeholder. While this is supporting the corporate identity perspective, and even considers the construction of identity as a whole process, it fails to go beyond a mere symbolic communication. Indeed, as discussed by Dormer (1998) and Balmer (1998 & 2002) that symbolism can assert authority and convey ideas. However the threat in there is when corporates reflect a desired and ideal self instead of the actual. This was often the dominant view on the existing city branding literature, and practice, where the focus was on the image of the city; what can be created by the agencies and how this could be projected to outsiders (outside-in approach).

In terms of place brands, Knez (2005) observed places through the lens of local community attachment to place and relationship to spatial identity; and Manzo (2005) noted that there are multiple dimensions of place branding. Her study on the different dimensions of meanings of places indicated that people associate places with privacy and self-reflection, markers in life's journey, bridges to past and dynamics of safety, threat and belongingness (Manzo, 2005). This has parallels to De Chernatony and Dall'Omo Riley (1998) who recognised the brand as a multidimensional concept that becomes the crossing point between two boundaries; the activities of a firm and the perceptions of consumers. In a place branding context, Kavaratzis (2005) further suggested that each end of these boundaries accommodate a number of elements that help to build a brand identity leading to features and beneficial attributes for the brand owner, and the image of the brand that assimilates perceptions of quality and values. He, however, stressed that this could only be done through a deep understanding of the fundamental and core characteristics of places (Kavaratzis, 2005).

Moreover, Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2006) reflected on Tolle's (2010) idea of 'urban identity' and highlighted that a place needs to be differentiated through its unique brand identity in order to be recognised, perceived and consumed. Thus suggesting that identity, personality and differentiation are the concepts that can all be transferred to the practice of city branding (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2006).

In contrast, several academics (e.g. Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2002; Stigel and Friman, 2006) postulated that cities can be seen as businesses and that most cities have quite similar infrastructures and services to offer the visitors. The attempts to create an identity for cities take in various forms all around the world. A few examples include the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, with its distinct architectural design; London, with its metropolitan lifestyle and New York City, with its “I love NY” slogan. Indeed these examples of cities indicate that they are for sale to internal as well as external target audiences (Stigel and Friman, 2006). The main challenge here, nevertheless, is to create a unique identity for the city, which has a far more complex and diverse nature than many products and services can have. Moreover each city has different quarters, districts, inner hubs and often ‘out of town’ commercial districts and each of these have different characteristics, communities and brand identities that have been possibly subject to a change over the years. Regarding this matter, what is significant and differentiates a city from being run like a business is the process of creating the city brand identity.

Stigel and Friman (2006), therefore, suggested that a city can be seen as a person whose “identity” can be recognised as the soul with certain values. However this does not lessen the issues, as another challenge is that a person’s identity is subject to constant change and the identity varies in relation to the circumstances in which the individual interacts. In consequence, it would be more appropriate to consider cities with several identities (Stigel and Friman, 2006).

Another perspective is that Kavaratzis (2005) suggested city branding can also be practiced as a form of management in order to achieve a distinct identity, and create a purpose and a feeling of brand ownership (Trueman, Cook and Cornelius, 2008). However unlike traditional sense of branding where there are core, tangible components; the components of a city, its culture, residents, visitors, geography, design and so on, are dynamic in nature with different needs and expectations to be met in order to create 'brand ownership'. In perspective of this, it indicates that Maslow's hierarchy of needs influences the measure of brand ownership. Maslow's model (1943) is often used to assist in understanding human behaviour where after the basic needs are met, it leads on to belongingness, self-esteem and self-actualisation at the top.

According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, in the contest of city branding, this highlights assessing how people respond to places. In other words, since cities are home to diverse communities from different backgrounds and culture, while one region of the city might be more concerned about civic pride and worry less about security, a few streets away, the story can be the total opposite. Trueman *et al.* (2008) highlighted this by drawing the focus on sub-brands at a local, regional level in order to encourage community engagement.



Moreover, Hospers (2009) mentioned of the notion of city brand identity from the perspective of tourism and how it contributes towards building a city identity. He suggested that cities emphasise either tangible, material characteristics such as buildings and events or intangible features like stories and slogans in order to create a brand identity. The main question he faces is that how does this image building and identity creation?

Hospers (2009) mentioned of the theory developed by John Urry (1990) regarding the motivation and reason behind some places being visited more than the others. Urry (1990) postulated that tourism is highly linked to the identity of visitors, and, therefore it can be perceived as an activity of seeking out of the ordinary experiences (Trueman, Cornelius and Wallace, 2012). In support Hospers (2009) elaborated that places are not randomly chosen, the choice varies from one society to another and thus the decisions are socially constructed. As a result, he drew the attention on the link between the city's communicated identity and desirability for people.

In addition, at a later study Urry (2002) studied the identity creation from a consumer/ visitor viewpoint and shifted the focus to the importance of media channels (such as travel guides, television documentaries, films) in order to create a place identity. He gave an example of when prospect visitors see two people kissing in Paris, they identify Paris as a place of a timeless romance and they do so because they have been exposed, voluntarily or involuntarily to a variety of media channels (Urry, 2002). This highlights the

relationship between people and the significance of the image on place identity, which also leads to a connection with the notion of place attachment and brand ownership.

### **2.3 Spatial identity, Place Attachment and Brand Ownership**

To this point, the reviewed literature focused on the purpose and development of cities, and, the significance of identity and perception in order to understand city branding as a management tool. In this section, the literature will concentrate on the concepts of spatial identity, its relationship to identification and brand ownership in perspective of city branding.

When looked at from a wider perspective, several academics have indicated that places may not only aim to attract tourists but also investment and industry (Codato and Franco, 2006; Go and Govers, 2000). Indeed local authorities now have started to implement marketing techniques not merely to attract tourists but also for new residents and businesses. However, this raises the question of do cities need to adjust their city marketing techniques in order to keep existing residents satisfied and attract new resident (Hospers, 2010). In relation, Kavaratzis (2004) stated that city branding not only provides the opportunity to develop policies for economic development but it also had become a tool for city residents to identify with their cities. He, furthermore, highlighted that whilst economic development is essential for residents' basic needs; identification with their cities adds to the desirability of the city (Kavaratzis, 2004).

As previously mentioned, as a consequence of treating cities as if they were consumer products, several city brands face the challenge of going beyond creating promotional images and slogans (Freire, 2005, Anholt, 2007 and Hospers, 2010). Place branding literature, in general, uses the term identity in various forms and sometimes referring it to as place image. Therefore the notion of identity in place branding literature can often be perceived as negative or positive (Skinner, 2008). On the other hand, the term “identity” is also being considered as the objective reality and not the same as image “... which defines how a place is perceived externally” (Barke and Harrop, 1994, p.214). While the term identity can mean an undifferentiated unity (Martin, 2005), it is also used as distinctiveness and being different (Kalandides, 2011). The issue with the concept of identity arises when these two definitions collide in attempting to put city branding into practice due its complex nature and lacking clear definitions in uses.

In order to get a deeper understanding, it is important to get a closer look to the relationship of identity and identification. In corporate branding literature, Balmer (2008) stressed that terms identity and identification often referred as the same and drew strong parallels from perspectives on nationalism and ethnicity for further clarification. He referred to identification on two levels: one that relates to the use of external, outward-bound symbolic presentations of the corporation using a variety of communication channels and the other is

where individual's and/or group's identification with the corporation (Balmer, 2008).

Similarly from a place branding perspective, Kalandides (2011) mentioned of Dematteis (1994) on the significant distinction between identification and identity; by highlighting that the place identification deals with exterior features such as size, shape and geographical position and layout that differentiates one city from another, whereas identity involves "a set of attributes capable of representing something similar to the personality of an individual" (Dematteis, 1994, p.430). There is a greater emphasis on the collective nature of place identity and its self-expressing continuity. Following this, Kalandides (2011) asked whether or not a place loses its identity when it develops.

In the search of an answer for this question, there are examples can be seen in the urban planning and development studies such as East London's extensive regeneration process or the cities of United States such as San Francisco, Portland and Detroit. For instance, the recent urban regeneration projects aimed at transforming East London from a run-down and unsafe place to live to an artist welcoming, trendy and fashionable area with distinctively designed buildings and independent shops. Indeed this attempt has brought along an urban gentrification to the area leaving the local residents to disassociate with their roots and potentially creating a social gap with the gentrifiers.

Kalandides' (2011) study about Prenzlauer Berg, in Berlin also supports this case and he stated that the urban renewal processes not only lead to physical change in the area but also created a change in the society within the renewed area. Despite the present study's purpose and scope is limited to study the subject of urban planning and gentrification further in depth, this viewpoint indicates the significance of residents in city branding.

Following on, in his study on geographical concepts in city marketing Hospers (2010) stressed the significance of adopting a geographical perspective in order to create a stronger sense of place. He suggested that indeed promotional image, logo and slogan creation might prove to assist in attracting visitors and tourists; he, however, asked if they do have the potential to draw new residents and businesses in to a city to settle down in the longer term. What many cities seem to attempt and fail at is to create a brand that is flexible enough to reach across all the target audiences (Hospers, 2011). A city has several stakeholders, from planners, politicians to residents and tourists. Therefore it is neither possible to satisfy all of their needs nor can have a corporate branding department to identify and manage all the aspects of a city brand. Subsequently, Hospers (2010) emphasised that in order to create and manage a sustainable city brand, local authorities need to work on how to keep the existing target groups which, in theory, relates to the relationship marketing. According to Berry (1995), the fundamentals of relationship marketing defend the concept of strengthening

relationship with the existing customers and transforming them into loyal customers and enhance brand ownership.

Furthermore, Tuan (1974) mentioned about the importance of love of place by introducing the term topophilia (meaning love of place) and suggested that people react to a place emotionally rather than rationally (Hospers, 2010). In parallel to this, Breakwell's (1993) concept of four processes in relation to place identity: place related distinctiveness (referring to places to distinguish oneself), place referent continuity (place as a reference to one's past) and place congruent continuity (place as confirming one's beliefs), place related self-esteem (referring to place as a means to self-fulfilment) and finally place related self-efficacy. In perspective of this concept, it is important to highlight the implication of being 'attached to' a place through sense of place of the local community which feeds the social capital for a sustainable city (Lin, 2002; Lloyd and McCarthy, 2003; Trueman *et al*, 2008).

Additionally, Trueman, Klemm and Giroud (2004) added that environmental developments play a key role in improving perceptions and influence the local community to take ownership of the city and pride, thus enhance the brand value. Several cities around the world have improved their brand ownership through the involvement of local community in policy development and large scale inward investment (Trueman *et al*, 2004).

Furthermore, Hospers (2011) highlighted that places affect people more than products and gives an example of residents' mentioning of their hometown with a deep sense of attachment and pride in order to emphasise the notion of sense of place. This is not only the case for the individuals but also the businesses. A previously carried out research on 91 US and Asian life sciences companies reveal that one-third of these international corporates' location decisions indicate personal ties of the directors with the place (Hospers, 2011). Especially in the case of businesses, moving to another city or country is considered as a far reaching decision as it is directly related with accessibility to suppliers and customers/ clients and once a business is settled in one city, the chances of moving to another city is considered as relatively low (Hospers, 2011).

## **2.4 Key focus areas of the research**

The previous considerations within the branding literature echoes an outside-in approach to the concept of city branding where a top-down management takes the focus and the emphasis is mainly on attracting newcomers to cities and places. On the other hand the literature on urban and environmental studies often lack a branding perspective which has always been fundamentally embedded in management of places and cities in particular.

Both fields of study acknowledge the importance of the concept of identity; brand identity and spatial identity and sense of place. Hence, this study aims to adopt a new approach and be a part of a bridging research between the

two subject fields of urban and environmental studies and branding by emphasising the influence and significance of residents in the context of branding cities.

Consequently, the main motivation for the present study aimed at exploring and understanding the dynamics and processes that the residents of a city experience in order to emphasise the impacts of spatial identity, in an attempt to contribute to city management process to enhance the city brand ownership. The study does not aim to employ the traditional definition of success in the context of city branding, as it is neither possible nor viable to measure the “success” of a city and its branding efforts. Instead the term sustainable will be used as in the meaning of “*being able to continue for a period of time*” (Cambridge Dictionary).

The role and influence of residents will get the attention in perspective of adopting an inside out approach. The study also intends to not only bring a light on the purposes of cities and its significance on the residents by adopting an inside out perspective to the subject area, but also aims to understand and illustrate the range of available key concepts that contribute towards a sustainable city brand management.

The principal emphasis of this study is to address a theoretical framework that will illustrate the contributing components of urban studies,



environmental psychology and brand ownership with the aim of outlining ways in which are combined into practical plans for the selected city. In order to achieve this, the key focus areas for the study are:

1. To describe and identify the key concepts involved and the significance contributed to an inside out approach to city branding through the literature from both branding and urban studies and environmental psychology (secondary research)
2. To study the relationship of residents of cities with the places they live in relation to spatial identity and brand ownership.
3. To study the relationship of residents with the places they live in as individuals and as in social groups.
4. Integrate the findings of the primary research into a theoretical framework that conceptualise the complex nature of city branding by focusing on the interrelations of the previously identified key concepts and through the perspective of an inside out approach.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

### **3. Chapter Introduction**

This chapter outlines the research methodology of grounded theory while providing a rationale for the adaptation of constructivist approach to grounded theory. The first half of the chapter starts with the philosophical orientation of the study in order to outline the ontological and epistemological stance of the study and goes on to discuss different approaches to grounded theory. The second half discusses how the study was carried out, emphasising the research setting and the strategies employed during sampling and interviews.

#### **3.1 Philosophical orientation of the study**

Delanty and Strydom (2003) envisaged that a philosophical perspective is embedded during the adoption of research strategies, the conduct of research and interpretation of data and information. While the status of social science has been a long debate in the academic world, it is necessary to revisit the roots of the main strands of the great discussion in order to justify and introduce the philosophical orientation of the present study.

An interpretive paradigm guided the present study during the conceptualisation stage. Blaikie (2000) posed several questions to relate to the fundamental philosophical and practical questions aspects of undertaking social research from what kind of science is social science to the appropriate methods, the nature of reality and the relationship between the researcher

and the researched. Unfortunately while there is no direct and simple answer to these questions, more importantly, a perceptive awareness of ontology and epistemology is required to determine which approach is suitable to obtaining knowledge of the research area.

Blaikie (2000) referred to ontology as assumptions about what exists, what units make up the nature of social reality and how they interrelate. Consequently, depending on the ontological stance, different interpretations of data and approaches exist. Epistemology is, on the other hand, theory of knowledge referring to the assumptions about the ways in which it is possible to gain knowledge and a justification for what can be regarded as knowledge (Blaikie, 2000).

In regards to social research, the establishment of an ontological viewpoint is the preceding stage after which the epistemological and methodological positions subsequently follow (Grix, 2002). He further stressed that ontological assumptions reflect social reality; the understanding of knowledge and meaning (Blaikie, 2000). Burrell and Morgan (1979) highlighted that these assumptions entail ideas such as whether or not the “reality” in question is external to the individual or impose itself on the individual conscious from within; determining if knowledge can be observed and acquired independently or embedded in experience which echoes the focal perspective of this study. It is essential at this point to distinguish the concepts of methodology and method. Despite the interchangeable use of

method and methodology in the literature, Blaikie (2000, p.7) referred to method as the actual techniques that are used to gather and analyse data and methodology as how the research should proceed.

Furthermore, in regards to epistemological approach, Bryman (2004) referred to positivism as supporting the use of natural science methods to obtain objective knowledge and facts. It is also referred as standard view' of science in the literature with a strong base for the theory of causation. Remenyi, Williams, Money and Swartz (1998, p. 32) highlighted positivism as "*working with an observable social reality and that the end product of such research can be law-like generalisations similar to those produced by the physical and natural scientists*". Human activity and behavior is accepted as observable, "social reality" and perceived as a result of complex causal relations and the causes of human behavior exist external to the individual (Blaikie, 1993). The classical positivist paradigm suggests only phenomena that can be observed will lead to a credible data that uses the existing theory to develop hypothesis. These hypotheses will then be tested in order to develop a theory. Significantly, positivist approach uses a reduction of data that is as value-neutral as possible, and the ultimate goal is to produce knowledge, regardless of any politics, morals, or values held by those involved in the research. Robson (2002) summarised the positivistic approach as essentially seeking existence of a constant relationship or association between events or variables.

On the other end of the epistemological spectrum there is relativism and its approaches to research. Robson (2002) stressed relativism as a stance where there can be no objective reality and that it can only be constructed through a conceptual system. Unlike positivistic “standard view”, the essence of the social sciences are people and unlike the natural world objects, people are conscious, attach meaning to what is happening and have perceptions and ideas about the world. While the relativistic approaches are commonly referred as qualitative research, other specific labels include constructivist, interpretive or naturalist (Robson, 2002).

Interpretivism entails a paradigm where the “social reality” is referred as socially constructed meanings (Blaikie, 1993) and requires the researcher to understand the subjective meaning of social action through an approach that respects the differences between individuals and the objects of natural sciences (Robson, 2002). Interpretivism is, as described by Blaikie (1993: 36), has its origins in the traditions of phenomenology and its principal idea is that *“there is a fundamental difference between the subject’s matters of natural and social sciences”*. While Denzin and Lincoln (1998) put interpretivism under the qualitative research umbrella, Connole, Smith and Wiseman (1995) maintain that qualitative research methods are central to interpretivism. Schwandt (2000) on the other hand shifted the focus of the discussion from its distinction from constructivism and claimed that they differ from an epistemological perspective and methodology. More importantly, most scholars agree that human experience is considered as a process of interpretation rather than sensory and behaviour highly depends on how

humans interpret the social reality that they are in (Blaikie, 1993; Robson, 2002 and Carson, Gilmore, Perry and Gronhaug, 2001). Therefore, social reality is the interpretation and not an entity that might be interpreted in different ways (Blaikie, 1993, p.96).

In consequence, the present study adopts and is guided by an interpretivist research philosophy. This is mainly due to the epistemological and ontological assumptions for this study being grounded on the viewpoint that residents of a city have their own meaning of reality and truth that is constructed individually and socially. Therefore the social interaction and exchange between the researcher and the residents is the key process to obtain information regarding the phenomenon studied.

Furthermore, in terms of practice and from the perspective of the researcher's objectives, interpretivism as an epistemology offers an appropriate method of viewing knowledge and conducting an analysis which conceives a profound understanding and experience of subject's tangible feelings, emotions and perspectives (Walliman, 2006). The research design echoes the basic elements of interpretivism highlighted by Carson *et al.* (2001) which are; inductive, emphasis on the understanding, meaning and theory building, rather unstructured or semi structured and more importantly the involvement of the researcher in the study was considered as a research instrument.

### **3.1.1 Interpretivism, qualitative research and marketing**

Wright and Dimsdale (1974) highlighted that the development of marketing has been associated with concepts such as the movement of generic commodities into the market place as well as profitability and cost minimisation. Collins (1983) added that the empirical importance on logistics and pragmatic economic issues has linked research methodologies in the subject field of marketing with the positivist theories. Furthermore, Hirschman (1986) stressed that until Levy's (1981) "Interpreting Consumer Mythology" the marketing research world was primarily involved positivist approaches. However, recently, the concept of marketing has evolved and begun to incorporate closely with other social sciences such as psychology and in this particular study, urban studies, hence city branding.

Over the recent years, research in business studies, in particular marketing, has been criticised for not portraying the complexity of the real-world (Perry, Riege and Brown, 1999 and Pettigrew, 1987). Traditionally, the concept of marketing has its firm foundations on the grounds of positivist approaches and viewpoints of physical sciences subsequently it has evolved through behaviouralism, functionalism and institutionalism (Hirschman, 1986). Even though the modern applications of marketing recognise the importance of situational context and the constructed nature of human reality (Hirschman, 1986, p.238), the research approaches lack inputs from humanistic approaches.



Accordingly, Holbrook and Hirschman (1993) highlight the importance of adopting an interpretivist outlook on the subject area of marketing, particularly on consumer behaviour and perception by highlighting that due to the rapid changes in social environments, business academics are in need to be reminded that marketing is a subject which highly relates to the understanding of human behaviour under different social circumstances (Goulding, 1999).

More recently, Taylor (2000) stated that the researchers have started to shift the way they analyse consumer behaviour in realisation that one of the main weaknesses of the post-modern economy is that businesses are not getting out there and studying consumer behaviour; instead, they rely on traditional, positivist views (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1993). Consequently, this evolution is now followed by an important and theoretical debate between the marketing scholars on the methods of inquiry and even to the point where marketing is now seen as a socially constructed enterprise (Hirschman, 1986). As a result, the marketing world has started seeing a variety of research philosophies being adopted, including more humanistic approaches.

Briefly, humanistic approaches emphasise the research involvement with the subject studied rather than standing aside (Polanyi, 1962). Despite the recent years there have been attempts to combine the two approaches; it is neither possible nor appropriate to do so (Hirschman, 1986). Even though Bonoma (1985) noted that there is an increase in the use of qualitative research

methods in marketing, he also adopted a positivist viewpoint and criticised the validity via its objectivity and error variance. On the other hand, qualitative methods such as case studies have widely been used in marketing research and lead up to theory building and generating rather than theory testing and verification (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, qualitative and exploratory methods enable practices, such as marketing where consumer perception and behaviour is involved, flexibility and interaction between theory and the data (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009; Perry *et al.*, 1999 and Hirschman, 1986). However it is important at this stage to point out that none of the approaches are better than the other or encouraged more in comparison to the rest. The most appropriate approach highly depends on the objectives of the researcher and the study.

Furthermore, Taylor (2000) highlighted that people do not react only to a single stimulus, but they interpret the perceptions and act accordingly. In the particular case of the present study, the concept of branding reaches beyond the traditional product based approach and exceedingly deals with images that concentrate on people's perceptions (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Fan, 2006) and the concept of identity within places and particulars of time. In addition, from the perspective of the researcher's key focus areas, interpretivism as an epistemology offers an appropriate method of viewing knowledge, conducting a research, which conceives a profound understanding and experience of the subjects' feelings and perspectives. As a result, an interpretivist approach is considered to be appropriate in order to pursue the set objectives of the study.

In terms of research methods, several academics (i.e. Guba & Lincoln, 1994 and Saunders *et al*, 2009) believe that both qualitative and quantitative methods can be adopted appropriately with any research paradigm and that the questions of methods are secondary to questions of paradigm. Gratton and Jones (2004) summarised that the use of quantitative methods involves gathering quantifiable data to support factual findings and that the testing of hypotheses generally occurs in a contrived environment. This leads to the general belief that quantitative methods are adopted only in positivist approaches. Indeed, quantitative techniques are common in positivist approaches as they allow large quantities of value-free, objective data for analysis; however, this is also why it is not favoured in exploratory studies where rich data is needed from multiple sources.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explained qualitative research as a field of inquiry that studies complex and interrelated concepts and assumptions consisting of a set of interpretive approaches. The nature of qualitative research enables the researcher knowledge that is collected and constructed in a natural environment.

Goulding (2002) demonstrated one of the main challenges in adopting qualitative methods in management research by stressing that those who are involved in qualitative research require a justification of methodology for not adopting a logical, deductive and objective approach which echoes the characteristics of positivism. To some extent this is an impact of positivist

approaches requiring a less diverse rules and procedures in comparison to interpretive methodologies (Goulding, 2002). In the context of consumer behaviour and marketing research, Hirschman (1993) proposes that positivism is a drive towards quantification that might be perceived as an attempt to reduce the modern society down to statistics that eliminate the emotions, personal quirks and interests as well as the impact of time and place.

### **3.2. Research Methodology**

A qualitative research design was the natural choice in consideration of the aims of the study however a number of factors had to be considered in order to choose a specific research methodology. This section will focus on the selection of grounded theory methodology and justifying its appropriateness and the choice of cases and sampling.

#### **3.2.1 Grounded Theory Methodology**

A grounded theory methodology was seen as appropriate and found to be valuable for the present study due to the lack of insight in relation to the specific factors and/or factor associations that compromise the different perspectives of the subject area. In the tradition of qualitative research, which stands on the perspective of lack of prior knowledge and theory, the use of grounded theory introduces itself where the main purpose is to generate

theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Goulding, 2002; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Goulding (2002) highlights that the roots of grounded theory can be traced back to the movement of symbolic interactionism, origins from the works of Charles Cooley (1864-1929) and George Herbert Mead (1843-1931), which proposes that individuals act purposively and act and react to environmental influences. These can develop from meanings of social interactions as a result of the interpretations attached to various form of communications (Goulding, 2002). In accordance, in terms of research methodology, Schwandt, (1994) stressed that in order to observe the subject's interactions, the researcher needs to enter the worlds of the studied subject which is expected to lead to a rich description and development of a theory (Goulding, 2002).

Crotty (1998) highlighted that justification of the methodological choice needs to be in line with the theoretical perspective which emphasises the study. Carson *et al.* (2001) also suggested three aspects in order to determine whether a grounded theory methodology is appropriate or not; the research needs to be interpretivist, seeks to study complex social processes between people and there must be no pre-existing theories about the phenomena. Indeed the principles of grounded theory is based entirely on the primary data collected (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), however a more contemporary approach suggests that a prior familiarity and understanding of the existing

literature can be used to enhance the theory developing process (Strauss and Corbin (1998).

Despite the future conflict between the founders of grounded theory on what the grounded theory is and should be, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss wrote "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" (1967) in an attempt to defend qualitative research by challenging the (mis)perception that only quantitative studies provide a form of systematic social science enquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). However throughout the further development of grounded theory methods, the original stance has come under attack.

The Straussian view (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) on grounded theory defends an objective reality through an unbiased data collection with an outlined procedures and echoes verification (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Goulding, 2002). Glaser's perspective (1978, 1992) on the other hand, remained closer to the original version of grounded theory and traditional positivism and assumes objective, external reality via objectivist data rendering (Melia, 1996; Charmaz, 2000; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The heart of the conflict between the two views centres in how they believe and approach the data analysis, and, whether or not verification should be an ultimate goal of grounded theory (Heath and Cowley, 2004; Charmaz, 2000; Holloway and Wheeler, 2002). Both Glaser and Strauss and Corbin supported the idea that there is an external, objective reality that the researchers can record and discover; Glaser via the discovery of data,

coding and the use of comparative methods (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Charmaz, 2000) whereas Strauss and Corbin argued for a more analytic approach through outlined questions, hypothesis and methodological applications (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2000, Bryant and Charmaz, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

In his later work, Glaser (1992) criticised Strauss and Corbin (1990) about obtaining data through forced, predetermined questions and hypotheses. In response, Strauss and Corbin (1998, 2008) stressed the significance of deduction of data and validation and elaboration. This was an important shift in Straussian stance as it recognised the possibility that there might be other factors involved in the emergent data. Thus, Straussian approach suggests clearer guidelines for data analysis, which might be considered as an attractive approach by the researchers due to the ease of data analysis.

Indeed many misconceptions and arguments exist regarding grounded theory being more related to positivist approaches, the emphasis on multiple realities and the researcher's simultaneous interaction with the phenomena suggests that the research is socially constructed (Goulding, 1998; Brown, 1995). Charmaz (2000) stressed that Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998) viewpoint on grounded theory aims towards an unbiased data collection and more significantly they offer a voice to the respondents by acknowledging the possible conflict of the respondents' view of reality with their own. In essence, Strauss and Corbin (1998) adopted a wider perspective on the main purpose

of grounded theory and stress that the use of grounded theory techniques can also aim to produce insightful descriptions that guides action and not only theory building whereas Glaser (1992) argues that failing to produce a theory is conflicting with the original stance of grounded theory.

Ultimately, the classic school of grounded theory texts of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Glaser (1978) defended the view of discovering theory as emerging from data, as well as that it should be of use to practitioners, which, in this case those are involved with city managements, local and national governments, residents and other stakeholders of cities and lastly the academic researchers interested in contributing into the development of this contemporary subject field.

Charmaz (2014), on the other hand, unlike their perspective, assumed neither data or theories are discovered but rather we, as researchers, are a part of the data we collect and analyses we produce, hence we construct the theory instead of discover it. In this case, it was important for the researcher to understand the nature of and what constitutes a place brand identity, the significance of cities and residents in specific and the construction of place brand identity. This meant that it was key to keep an open mind while studying such a multi –and-cross dimensional subject and allow a natural interpretation, and in consequence construction, through interactions with participants, understanding their perspectives and other relevant research practices.



In consequence, the study adopts a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 1990, 2000a; Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001) as it embraces and encourages attention to possible broader, contextual influences that is in parallel line with the complex nature of this study. The constructivist view (Charmaz, 1990) on grounded theory aims to highlight the phenomenon that is being studied rather than the methods of studying it by adopting the grounded theory guidelines as tools but not advocating of its objective and positivist stance in its earlier formation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

This was a significant viewpoint in grounded theory approach as it recognised the role of the researcher and the possibility that the categories arise through the interpretations “of” the data, not “from” them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 509).

City branding, especially if the study is taking an inside-out perspective by emphasising the notions of identity and residents of a city, require research data is diverse and socially constructed. Charmaz (2005) noted that all analyses come from a viewpoint or perspective; ideas or data are not mere external objects that researchers can passively observe. In addition, adopting a constructivist approach will acknowledge of the prior knowledge and experience as ingredients to our interaction with empirical data but not determinant elements of inquiry.

### **3.2.2 Choice of the cases and Sampling**

In accordance with the constructivist view on grounded theory method, the study consisted of two-stage sampling involving initial and theoretical sampling with both stages including purposive sampling design. The research was originally designed as a single case study of Leeds, UK. However as a consequence of the nature of pilot study analysis, the research expanded to include a deliberately contrasting case of Istanbul Turkey.

The overall research was informed by a total of 22 semi-structured interviews. Each interview is audio-recorded and were transcribed verbatim soon after the completion. As emphasised in constructing grounded theory by Charmaz (2014), the coding process was kept simple and consisted of two processes of initial and focused coding. In grounded theory, initial coding starts with being open to the meaning and theoretical possibilities of the data rather than applying pre-existing categories to the text. Throughout the initial coding certain questions, such as 'what is this data a study of? What do the data suggest? What processes is at issue here?', in order to understand the participants' perspective and analyse the data

The City of Leeds demonstrated a great degree of appropriateness for the study due to its post-industrial city status. In Europe, England in the particular case of the present study, cities served a purpose before the industrialised economy movement. Leeds developed as a market town in the middle ages before becoming a co-ordination centre for manufacture of textiles. Leeds is

now the third largest and one of the fastest growing cities in the UK. It is located in the middle of the UK with a diverse population of 751,500, as of 2011 (Leeds Gov, 2015).

The focus of cities was the main purposes they had served for not only regional but also national economy. As a consequence of the shift from manufacturing to industrialisation, cities are being faced the challenge of differentiation and attracting investment thus competition. Before the industrialisation, Leeds was considered to be one of the major centres for textiles industry. Since then Leeds has been investing greatly on regenerating the city in an attempt to create and communicate a more positive image of the city, attract investment and visitors. In addition, mainly as a result of being a home to two major universities (Leeds Metropolitan University and University of Leeds), the city allowed for a non-monoculture population that enabled a broader context for the study.

The main rationale for the participant selection was to be a resident of Leeds. The participants were required to be 18 years of age or over due to ethical reasons and had no direct links to the researcher. The main challenge for the researcher was the definition of a “resident”. Indeed in general terms, a person who just had moved to an area and/or have been living in the same area since birth could be categorised as residents. However as the purpose of the study aims for an in-depth insight and gain understanding of the residents’ perceptions of where they live resonates a requirement for a

degree of time spent in the resident location. Therefore considering this, in the particular case of the present study the notion of residents included candidates who have been living in Leeds for a minimum of five years. This also provided the researcher a degree of history of information and enabled to gain insight on the environmental changes and the perspectives associated to those changes.

In consequence, the initial stage included three guiding interviews and the main inclusion criterion was that they had to be residents of Leeds, UK for a minimum of five years. The six LS postcode towns were used to identify the potential participants. In order to minimise biases and the researcher identified participants from residential areas and avoided shopping districts.

Based upon the findings from the initial stage, emerging concepts and properties were identified as well as subsequent research participants for the theoretical sampling process. The guiding principle of this stage was to gain further understanding and making sense of the emerging categories. Initial stage properties suggested by all of the participants was that living in an environment where there are people from different cultural backgrounds indicated a feeling of safety and a welcoming environment. Therefore the stage two of the study was designed to involve the addition of Istanbul, Turkey to the original proposal of Leeds in order to 1) explore the associations or differences in cultural backgrounds to the concepts of 'safety', 'welcoming' and ownership, 2) compare and contrast the meanings of the

key themes of the study in two different cultures. As a result the second stage consisted of further in-depth interviews with the residents of Leeds as well as Istanbul.

Istanbul was proved to be a valuable selection with its distinct culture and rich and diverse history. It is one of Europe's most crowded and fastest growing cities. As a transcontinental city with a population of over 14 million, as of 2014 (Istanbul Gov, 2015) it is home to two continents of Asia and Europe, which makes it a unique city in the world. Both cities reveal cultural and geographical differences therefore in order to maintain the consistency of methodological concerns, the same purposive sampling design was maintained in both locations. In Istanbul, because the city is divided into two main regions as European and Asian side, the participants were included residents from both sides.

Throughout the 22 interviews, the researcher gave special attention to getting to know the individuals in order to gain depth of insight into their perspective and experiences with the city as well as the meanings they associated to being a resident in the selected cities. The participants were asked about how they would identify and describe a place. This was significant because it allowed the researcher to explore the participants' perception of places, what elements do they count the most and reversely what elements within the city leave them with the most memorable expression.

After gaining an initial understanding of these elements, the participants were encouraged to discuss their negative or positive meaning associations when they were describing and identifying a place throughout the interviews. This provided insight and further probing into their relatedness, connection, association and disassociation with the city. Furthermore, participants were asked what it is that connects them to a place and what cues they look for in a residential place. This led the researcher to explore their ownership, belongingness and pride in where they live and whether they reflect, act upon, engage or represent these feelings.

Indeed there is the common problem with the use of and being limited to cases and their generalisability however Yin (2003) stresses that no matter how large or how many set of cases can deal with the issue of generalisability, the main issue is the notion of generalisation from one case to another. Specifically considering the nature of cities as “brands”, the main intention of the present study is to generate a theory that will enable to understand and systematically explain the interrelations of the key concepts informed by the literature review and now achieve a statistical theory of generalisation.

## CHAPTER 4

### CATEGORY DEVELOPMENT AND FINDINGS

#### **4. Chapter Introduction**

In line with the requirements of the grounded theory, this chapter outlines the coding process and analysis of the data collected together in one section.

As explained in the methodology section, adopting a constructivist approach to grounded theory provided with rich data and a credible platform to explore and understand the relationship and dynamics between identity and places, cities in specific.

As suggested by early grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss) and inductive research, this chapter starts by a detailed discussion of constructing the place brand identity mosaic and how the coding process and theory building evolved throughout this process. The chapter will also discuss initial and focused coding by providing representative examples of data in order to illustrate the coding process and theory emergence. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the key findings and overview of the place brand identity mosaic.

The present study was initially designed as a single case study of Leeds, UK. However during the coding and analysis of three pilot studies in Leeds, it was revealed that cultural diversity and the meanings associated to key concepts was proved to be a significant stage in the process. Therefore it was the next necessary step for the researcher to explore these meanings and



associations further. In consequence of the nature of these key concepts and the significance of cultural diversity during the pilot study analysis, the research was expanded to incorporate deliberately contrasting case and included Istanbul, Turkey to the original design. The deliberately contrasting detail in the research design enabled the researcher to add depth to the meanings associated to the key concepts that emerged from pilot study as well as explore and saturate the related codes.

In accordance, the presentation of this chapter will follow the sequence of coding, categorisation and analysis of this process discussed above. After the presentation of the relevant codes and categories, the rest of the chapter will discuss the construction of the place brand identity mosaic and the analysis of Leeds and Istanbul findings under each category.

#### **4.1 The emergence of the core and interweaving categories**

The category, which appeared most relevant to understanding the concept of place identity, was the way in which the residents can relate themselves to the cities they live in. This then led to the different facets of identity: individual, social and place, that appeared to be emerged by a number of influential processes. During the pilot study three residents from Leeds, UK were interviewed. Emerging concepts from this stage suggested that living in an environment where there are people from different cultural backgrounds indicated a feeling of safety and a welcoming environment as well as the transient nature of population and its perceived influences on the city. Early,

preliminary codes included 'cultural perception', 'acknowledging ownership', feeling of safety' and 'longing for community feel' amongst many other codes.

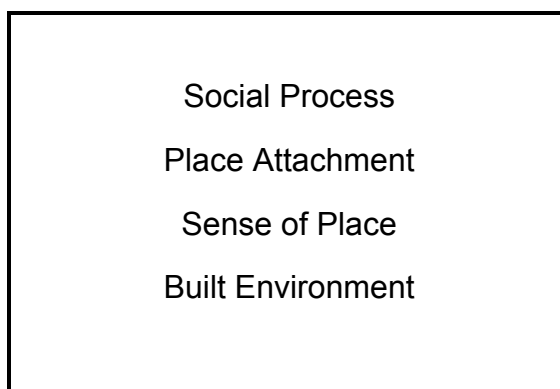
Theoretical replication was adopted based on the codes and categories, which were emerging during the analysis of the data and as the study developed further whereby the sampling was designed to include Istanbul, Turkey to the initial proposal of Leeds as a contrast. This proved to be a significant turn point for the study as it enabled the researcher to 1) compare and contrast the meanings of the key themes of the study in two different cultural contexts, 2) develop and saturate the emerging concepts and 3) bring theoretical rigour and robustness into the context.

Figure 4.1. Illustrates the initial coding and the emergent categories.

**Figure 4.1. Codes and categories**

<b>Initial codes</b>	<b>Focused codes</b>
Categorising population, growing population, diversity, welcoming environment, housing issues, people as evidence	Social Norms, Transience, Social Capital, Culture
Ownership, attachment, involving with the community, detachment, feeling pride, belongingness, physical environment, green spaces, and past vs present	Relatedness, Pride, Loyalty, Involvement, Ownership
Feelings & environment, self and place, experience, perceptual processing, representation of places	Perception, Self-Concept
Population density, green spaces, transport, scale of places	Urban development, Public infrastructure

**Theoretical codes**



The next section will discuss each theoretical code by illustrating and explaining the interweaving focused codes attached.

#### **4.1.1 Overview of the core categories**

The place brand identity mosaic comprises of four main categories of social process (SP), place attachment (PA), sense of place (SoP) and built environment (BE). Place brand identity mosaic explains the mirroring and interdependent relationship between the concepts of identity and places. The most significant feature of the place identity mosaic is that it is processual, dynamic, and time and context specific. The term 'mosaic' was chosen to describe the place brand identity theory as it more appropriately and accurately reflects the multidimensional aspect of the subject field as well as the flexible nature of grounded theory research.

The first main category, Social Process (SP), is a process in which residents' social perception and involvement with a place is categorised under. In specific, it emphasises the social pattern(s) and process(es) in perspective of the collected data and represents the residents' social norms and their representative role in places. The defining categories of SP are: social norms, transience, social capital and culture. The emergence of this category played a significant role in developing the theoretical sampling and inclusion of Istanbul as a deliberately contrasting case. Places have an influence in shaping social relations and in reverse and equally, social relations impact on shaping places. In the context of the current research, these social relations

are explained under the defining concepts mentioned above. Figure 4. 2 illustrates the theme of social process and its defining categories and Table 4. 1 explains the properties of each defining category.

Figure 4.2 Properties of Social Process

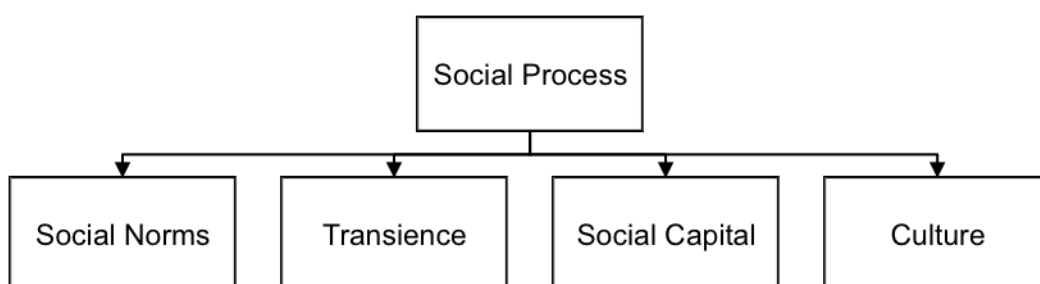


Table 4.1 Explanation of the relationship of each Social Process properties

Properties	Explanation
Social Norms	Social norms refer to the subtle influences that impact on individuals' beliefs about their residential area or even another area or city they lived previously. It is rather a collective, social process and proposes the influence of places in transformation of individual beliefs and behaviours. Built Environment has a significant yet less obvious effect on this process and Place Attachment and social norms is in a reciprocal relationship.

Transience	Transience of population and its perceived effects on behaviour within urban spaces. It is on a parallel stance with elements of Place Attachment (ownership & loyalty and involvement) and Sense of Place (perception) and influences each other mutually however they are not in a causal relationship.
Social Capital	Emphasises the collective, social value of communities within the urban areas in question. It is born out of shared common interests, values that enact involvement and engagement and is intertwined with the concept of community. It feeds into the elements of Place Attachment and Sense of Place.
Culture	The representation, perception and meaning of diverse cultures in cities. It includes association and representation of different cultures as well as sub-cultures. It reflects on Sense of Place, perception in specific.

‘Place Attachment’ (PA) is a multidimensional conceptual term arose as one of the main categories from the analysis of the data. This category emphasises the residents’ overall emotional bond with the place they live in and it includes both positive and negative meanings. While place attachment cannot be explained or viewed as a causal relationship, it is a mutual, two-way dialogue between a place and individuals that can be time and experience bound which explains its multidimensional nature. This meaning the level and degree of attachment can depend on a specific period of time and/or experience. For instance, while the changes to the built environment

can strengthen the attachment, a negative experience in the residential area can loosen the relationship or even cause detachment. The defining categories of PA are ownership and loyalty, relatedness, involvement and pride. Figure 4. 3 illustrates the theme of place attachment and its defining categories and Table 4. 2 explains the properties of each defining category.

Figure 4.3. Properties of Place Attachment

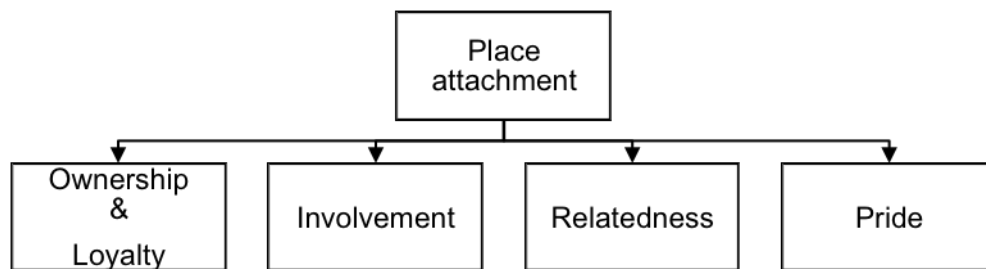


Table 4.2 Explanation of the relationship of each Place Attachment properties

Properties	Explanation
Relatedness	Relatedness refers to residents' linking self-identity to where they live: past and present. Relatedness can result in belongingness and association or disassociation and detachment. The degree of either end of this spectrum largely consists of strong feelings and opinions that can contribute towards a decision-making and action taking. Relatedness can act as a departure point for ownership and loyalty and involvement. It can be fed, enhanced or reminded by external influences such as the development and improvement of Built Environment.
Ownership & Loyalty	Ownership and loyalty naturally occurs when there is a strong and positive relatedness of self with the place and it is in a symbiotic relationship with relatedness. It is time bound and often develops over time if it is not with the birthplace. Ownership and loyalty also seek for a degree of relatedness in nature, in order to be sustainable and long term however can change (positively and negatively) over time.



Involvement	This is mainly referring to residents' initiative in creating an active relationship with the place they live in. Place meaning local area and city. Involvement enables an opportunity to the residents to create an emotional bond. Involvement cannot exist without ownership and loyalty. It also enacts and enhances pride.
Pride	Pride is very similar to ownership & loyalty however, in the context of present study unlike ownership & loyalty where the involvement is within and occurs on more individually, pride employs a more collective approach and can be influenced by the society.

Furthermore, 'Sense of Place' (SoP) is a combination of characteristics derived from the data collected that represent the residents' experience, perception and, more importantly, identification of themselves in relation to a place. It is highly relating to the process of bridging self with a place, this meaning examining the area in between and intersecting the lines of internal and external influences. While the current study was limited to understanding residents' perception to a specific place, their residential city, during the interviews the majority of the participants brought up their perceptions and experiences of places other than their residential area or city. This has provided significant information to help to understand the nature of

relationship between individuals and places. Perception and self-concept are the defining concepts of SoP.

Figure 4.4 shows the theme of sense of place and its defining categories while Table 4.3 explains each defining concept.

Figure 4.4 Properties of Sense of Place

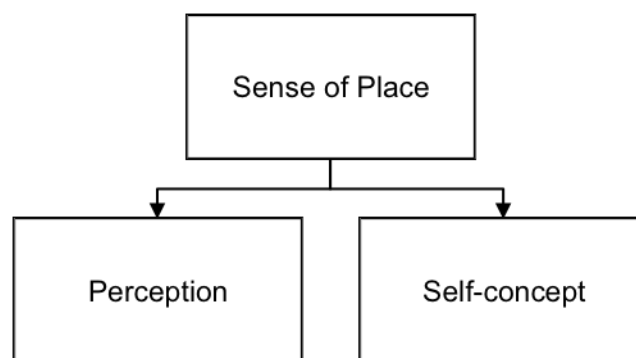


Table 4.3 Explanation of the relationship of each Sense of Place properties

Properties	Explanation
Perception	Perception is the combination of multiple ways that the residents receive and process information about their surroundings and where they live. It is a theme that residents' self (individual) uses means of describing their surroundings. Alternatively residents can also attach certain meanings to places influenced by their own experience.

Self- concept	This is one of the key themes of the study that also constructs the main framework of place brand identity mosaic. In the context of this study, it refers to beliefs of residents about themselves within the context of a certain area. Significantly, it is interwoven within perception i.e. how they perceive a place and how is this matching with who they believe they are, or in reverse, whether or not a place is matching within their social and cultural beliefs.
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Built environment' (BE) is a process in which residents are influenced by the human-made space and surroundings. These influences can range from buildings, green spaces and parks, neighbourhoods to water, energy and transport networks. This interpretation emphasises external, physical and built influences on the residents' perception, but more importantly feelings and emotions of places. In other words, as much as internal influences shape the residents' ultimate views about a place and trigger certain meanings, their external environment (BE) has as much influence in shaping their opinions and perceptions. However, it is also revealed that this is not only limited to their opinions and perceptions but also establishing strong associations, emotions and even feelings. The term Built Environment is not a mere descriptive label but a conceptual term arising from the data, which is supported by focused codes of urban development and public infrastructure, which will be discussed later on in the chapter, in details.

Figure 4. 5 illustrates the theme of built environment and its defining categories and Table 4.4 explains the properties of each defining category.

Figure 4.5 Properties of Built environment

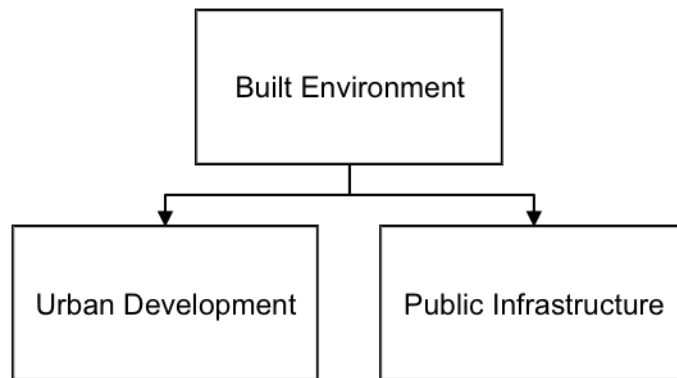


Table 4.4 Explanation of the relationship of each Built Environment properties

Properties	Explanation
Urban Development	Changes in the physical environment in urban spaces can influence residents' perceptions of the city they live in and subsequently can impact their feelings towards/for the city. The impact of these feelings can be time bound and be fed by constant past vs present comparison. The impact can be either negative or positive.

Public Infrastructure	The availability of necessary services and facilities are one of the crucial evidences in perceiving the built environment. Infrastructure contributes towards the perception of urban environment (lack or development of it) and can often be referred to as one of the measurement tools of effectiveness of urban regeneration. Infrastructure feeds into urban regeneration.
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Each four main categories were outlined and their properties explained above. In the following section, the features of each main category and their key concepts will be discussed as well as their mirroring relationship and mutual dependence in details.

It is important to consider here is that each category and the key concepts that construct those are neither static, defining nor is formulated; they are in constant relationship with each other, can come under external influences and do not follow a specific order or direction, hence the emphasis on dynamic and organic context of the main theory. For example, 'ownership' is one of the key concepts of the main category PA and it has direct relationship with SoP and its key concept of 'perception' and 'experience' yet at the same time it is also influenced by SP and the key concept of 'transience'.

Place brand identity mosaic consists of four main interdependent categories and each category has key constructive concepts associated. The rest of the chapter will discuss the emergence and the construction of the main theory in details. It will then move on to describe and explain these, their relationship with each other as well as with place identity and self-concept in details. The key and representative quotes will be included from field notes, memos and interviews with the participants to emphasise the interpretation of the data and the construction of the overall theory.

The overall findings from both cases echoed similarities and some distinct differences in terms of the relationship between place identity and self-concept and the processual categories, which supported the deliberately contrasting case study approach. However, despite the differences in meanings, which will be discussed in details in this chapter, the constituting four categories remained the same.

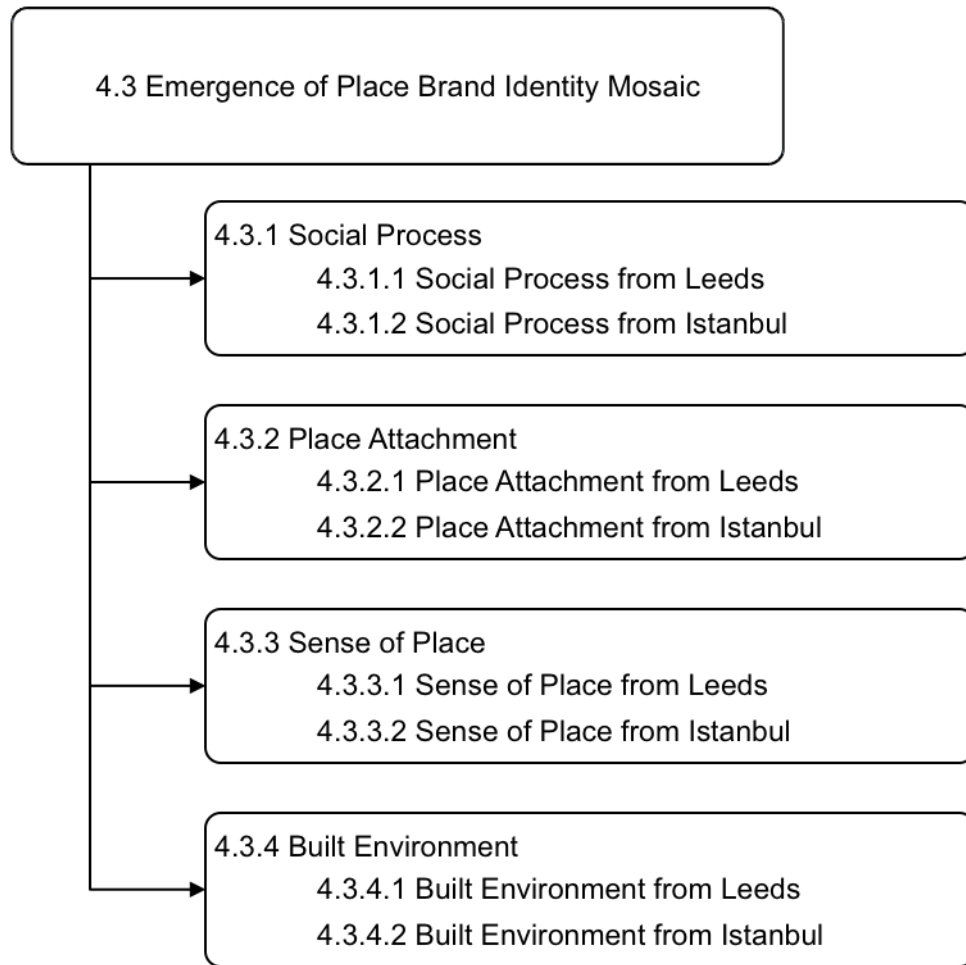
## **4.2 Emergence of Place Brand Identity Mosaic**

This section will discuss the emergence of the data in details, including initial, focused and theoretical codes that enabled the construction of place brand identity mosaic. As mentioned previously, the presentation of the findings will follow the coding sequence; hence the order of Leeds and Istanbul.

Despite the distinct and important differences in meaning associations as revealed briefly above, the key categories of social process, place attachment, sense of place and built environment remained the same. This meaning during the coding process, soon after the addition of Istanbul to the original research design, the development of new codes showed fractional changes. However the key outcome of the analysis process, and the overall study, was the differences in the relationship and dynamics of these key categories, which calls for a wider view on the overall subject of place branding by drawing in cultural and sociological perspectives.

The next section will begin by discussing the emergence of the data that enabled the construction of social process and its keys concepts as well as the supporting representative data excerpts for illustration and support. As noted earlier social process is supported by social norms, transience, engagement, social capital and culture.

Figure 4.6 Outline of the structure of section



#### 4.2.1 Construction of Social Process

The theoretical category of social process is supported by four focused codes of social norms, transience, social capital and culture which are derived from six initial codes of *categorising population*, *people as evidence*, *diversity*, *growing population*, *welcoming environment* and *housing issues*. Social process refers to the residents' perception, involvement, and, observation and interpretations of societal processes in regards to places. In contrast to 'Sense of Place' where the data is more concerned with the



residents' individualistic views are categories under, social process emphasises a more social, collective outlook on places.

The analysis of the data collected revealed that while *Social Norms* within cities influence opinions and behaviour on an individual level, they also act as a regulatory concept to interpret certain notions such as (but not limited to) diversity and multiculturalism, use of public spaces and engagement. It is also evident that *Culture* is one of the elements that shape our social norms, as the differences in the data analysis between Leeds and Istanbul reveals. *Transience*, on the other hand, represents the nature of populations as well as plays a significant role in understanding the influence of social norms and culture data, where it outlined the differences between the interpretations of the population in both cities. Lastly, the effects of social norms, transience and culture is categorised under *Social Capital*, where it analyses the existence of shared values and its reflections on residential areas and cities.

The development of this category guided the researcher to adopting a wider perspective to exploring and understanding the dynamics of places and individuals.

#### **4.2.1.1 *Social Process* in Leeds**

While '*categorising population*', the Leeds residents grouped their observations of different populations as students, transient population and

locals. This initial grouping, though, was not just a defining categorisation but it rather underlined certain behaviour perceptions and associations towards the city. Students are referred to as young and carefree, have a specific purpose to move to Leeds (to study), they live in certain areas of Leeds (mainly Hyde Park and Headingley) and their behaviour is often observed generally as 'lacking ownership'. Transient population is emphasised as people that live in Leeds as a stopover point. They, too, often have a specific reason to move to Leeds either for a job opportunity, a partner or to study. Finally, the locals were referred to as residents who have been living there for a long time and/or born and bred in the area.

Due to the associations of certain population groups with specific areas of Leeds, the participants were then asked to describe areas of Leeds. There was a clear negative meaning association around the areas where students and transient population reside.

*"You look at it around here and you go the main reason is simply because, it isn't even because, like council estates where people own it where it is run down, it is because of the population that live there. It is simple because the transient population don't own their houses and don't feel ownership over their space and therefore they use it and don't look after it and then they use the next space they live in and don't look after it"(LP1)*

*“The house I have chosen is a little bit off the student, a little bit away from the central core of the students because the more transient the population, the less respectful they would be to, in my own opinion, less respectful to an area because they don’t need to put in effort to keep it clean or respect the neighbours as much because they are not gonna be there for long”(LP5)*

‘*Categorising population*’ is the first of mediating codes of Leeds interviews as 1) it is interlinking theoretical codes of Social Process with Place attachment 2) participants associate specific behaviours with each population category which goes beyond mere groups of residents to emphasise certain associations and 3) it is also a basic social process that reflects fragments of self-interpretation and how this might change in time (i.e. some of the participants who were students themselves in Leeds at one point in the past, were observed to have clear tendencies to detach themselves from student population as a result of their own associations around them).

*“In university, where I was living, there was always noise, there was always arguments; people were always shouting and drunk people... All around, kind of didn’t care because I was in university and any moment*

*it was terrible, I was just like (click fingers) "I'm off!". But I wouldn't want to live there because of those reasons really"(LP9)*

In order to explore this grouping of population further, what this means for the residents, their observations, views and feelings, they were asked what each group of population means and represents for them. They were fully encouraged to explain the details since it was important for the researcher to gain insight into the social construction of these meaning associations. The majority of the residents' responses suggested that there is a general acceptance about each group of population in the area.

*"The activism comes from, that is not a student thing, that comes from long term residents who have come here and made it their home, and they make the best of it, and they try and do their best for their own community" (LP3)*

*"You do have some areas in Leeds that are obviously specified to certain groups I suppose, like if you look at Chapeltown, there is quite a high percentage of Africans, I cant think of the terminology but you know,*

*then there are around carnivals and parades you know,  
specific to there” (LP4)*

*“I wouldn’t live next door to a student house because it  
is a different lifestyle and the noise and in a behavioural  
way I suppose” (LP8)*

The excerpts above illustrate the first detections of how certain meaning associations were being constructed and social norms within the city were shaped. For example students are perceived as being the group that are less invested in the local area due to their transience while locals took on a more caring responsibility. Furthermore, while this emphasises a social, collective process (inclusion of different population groups in a social environment), it also highlights the representativeness of people of places and that the residents see other residents as a form of evidence (*‘people as evidence’*) for places:

*“It is kind of a real mix of different communities. I’d like  
to think more or less they kind of are happily side by  
side, I don’t know, that is certainly the sort of feel.” (LP6)*

*“It (Leeds) has got this mixture of cultures.” (LP7)*

*“It (Leeds) is this big, vibrant mixture of... bigger mixture of people going on there kind of like fashion and music types and seemed a bit more edgy” (LP5)*

These statements above also suggest the diverse nature of the local population. However this diversity is not just being limited to accommodating different ethnic backgrounds but emphasising a cultural ‘*diversity*’.

The reflections of ethnic and cultural diversity had a significant impact on how residents perceive the existence of a mixture of different cultures and interpret it as a ‘*welcoming environment*’.

*“A melting pot of cultures where, you know, I went to school certainly round here and there were certainly no real form of racism but what I’m talking about racism is it never even come in to the equation. It wasn’t like, you know, it was, when I thought about, every school I have ever been to has had every form of, you know, type of person in it”(LP1)*

*“You got a lot of the hipster students living around here. You also get some of the slightly more leftfield, kind of*

*punk friends, groups that sort of thing. You wouldn't consider, yeah, there is a difference." (LP3)*

*"It is getting the diversity and it means it is quite open to new people." (LP4)*

*"There are a lot of different types of people there, especially in Hyde Park area. There is a big Asian community. There is a big student community. There is a community of people who like music and socialise together." (LP5)*

Accommodating different cultures and welcoming nature of this diversity made Leeds an attractive place to its own residents but also to outsiders as well. However more importantly it contributed towards creating a community feel where there are shared interests and things are happening that is adding to the city's social capital.

*"I think that there is probably something about the area that is quite enabling and that creates the kind of sense of agency, like people can do stuff. I guess there is that*

*“can do” sort of spirit and a bit of fierce independence as well.”(LP7)*

*“My kids’ school is just over the top and they are very community driven.” (LP9)*

Indeed, it can be speculated that there may possibly be several other underlying and/or additional reasons why Leeds might be a potential city for outsiders’ consideration, such as geographical location and opportunities (i.e. job, university and colleges). In terms of competitiveness of cities, as much as this puts Leeds to an advantageous position, it also opens doors to impending problems such as ‘*growing population*’ and ‘*housing issues*’.

*“(The area) Crowded, it has got a massive student population come and go.” (LP5)*

*“Especially because they pack so many people in per house, people have realised that when you have got a student population you can open up the attic, you can build into the cellar and pack five or six people in per house so it is very densely populated area.” (LP3)*



*“– if you build a big block and put loads of people in there that wasn't there before someone's gonna fill the houses so you are only multiplying the population in such a small area” (LP1)*

While Leeds has been attracting transient population and students, mainly as a result of accommodating two big universities, this growth in population is feeding into housing issues, representativeness of the growing transient population and more importantly relatedness.

#### **4.2.1.2 Social Process in Istanbul**

Interviews with Istanbul participants revealed a different perspective to Leeds' '*categorisation of population*' and the categories were mainly based on socio-economic status. However the significance of this different perspective comes from the formation of participants' interpretation of social status and the levels of emphasis put on, which is either via occupation and/or the region/ area of residence in question.

*“It's about the profile of people living there, the socio-economical status. I think there are a few districts like that in Istanbul. Besiktas is one, Sisli is another and Kadikoy is the third” (IP5)*

*“Almost everyone is a college undergrad, and something called the ‘middle class’ has emerged in Istanbul. The economical opportunities presented to this middle class are good; everyone can buy a car with bank loans. (IP8)*

*“When you look at Kemerburgaz, the lifestyles look similar, you may find people that you can connect and become friends with. A lot of my friends are also living there.” (IP11)*

*“The European side is the place where people first coming to Istanbul live. There are more workers and rural people there. The Anatolian side is more educated than the European side. The European side is in Europe but it’s more Anatolian, whereas the Anatolian side is in Anatolia and it’s more European.” (IP12)*

Unlike in Leeds where the participants’ categorisation of population was based on the length of residence and the focus was around this categorisation, data from Istanbul revealed a similar emphasis on ‘*people as evidence*’. The data suggests that ‘people as evidence’ is the mediating code

for Istanbul data because 1) unlike in Leeds where categorising of population had the main emphasis as an underlying factor that provides residents a window of perception of the city 2) interlinking Social Norms with other theoretical code behaviour to construct further categories.

Istanbul is in a unique geographical position where the city is divided into two as “Asian/ Anatolian” and “European” sides by the Bosphorus. When residents asked what they think of each side and how they would describe, their responses echoed this emphasis of people as evidence to places.

*“It is a place where most of the people live in a stable family lifestyle. But the European side is more cosmopolitan and complex and it’s a place where mostly rural people who come to live in the city settle.”*  
(IP3)

*“The people choosing to live in the Anatolian side are those who don’t want to live in the center, they ‘re the ones choosing to live a calmer life, that’s how I see it, that’s one of the differences.”* (IP7)

*“The Anatolian side, maybe from its name, reminds me of the Anatolian people. I think the economical status is lower there, maybe it’s because where I lived, Kartal is an economically lower area. More closed, more conservative, more attached to its traditions.” (IP9)*

Interestingly though, the participants suggested more observable, physical cues in order to highlight their own meaning constructions.

*“Here (European side) both boys and girls dress up in the most expensive shoes and clothes they have and they try to show it off. Boys look like they’ve been to a gym, they try to look better groomed just like the girls with their make-ups and their bags etc” (IP5)*

*“People having a higher socio-economical status are living within the building complex. For example both the man and wife are working, the kids are attending private school, there are 2-3 cars in a household.” (IP1)*

*“...for example, the kids go to private schools, just like everyone’s children in the upper-middle class in*

*Istanbul. This shows some kind of financial power. Both parents work in general, not just one. They have a new or almost new, middle to upper class car, they buy a house after they're about 35, you know the type.” (IP2)*

This, as a consequence, played a vital role on the concept of ‘diversity’ in urban spaces in Istanbul as the participants look at diversity from a different dimension, for example limiting the discussion of diversity to mainly socio-economic, different subcultures and ethnicities within the nation- in comparison to international. It is quite important to draw attention to this limitation that it is not necessarily a negative input or outcome but it merely highlights the nature of the data.

However, the concept of diversity in Istanbul is also referred as an indication of ‘growing population’, which echoed a more negative connotation to the overall quality of life in Istanbul.

*“There’s no breathing room, it’s too crowded. The traffic is a mess.” (IP6)*

*“So the people recently coming to these areas are more rural, less educated. The population consists of people who don’t try to adapt themselves to the place they*

*settle in but people who try to adapt the environment to their personalities” (IP3)*

*“The overpopulation, the traffic. It seemed chaotic to me” (IP1)*

*“The overpopulation of course. There’s an incredible amount of immigration. Different cultures merge here and every day, the city becomes more cosmopolitan” (IP8)*

While the excerpts above do not indicate a direct influence on ‘housing issues’, this impact can be observed with the rise of housing construction and “zoning”, which also suggests the fluidity of urban dynamics in Istanbul.

*“The unplanned zoning that plagues Istanbul exists here too. As you see this is a luxury complex, but when you get out from the door, you see ghettos” (IP11)*

*“Istanbul is a very beautiful city but I believe that it’s not being given the value it deserves. We have some historical values that must be valued much, much more.*

*There's unplanned zoning and a gradual crowding that I don't like." (IP8)*

#### **4.2.1.3. Making sense of Social Process in Leeds and Istanbul**

Whilst the present study is not a comparative case study, it uses deliberately contrasting cases. This deliberation provided rich insight on the similarities and the differences between Istanbul and Leeds, and, the process of meaning constructs in particular. This section will act as a conclusion to both sets of findings and often will use direct data from memo diary in order to illustrate how the coding and category development took place and how the researcher made sense of these two deliberately contrasting cases. The main aim in this section is not to directly compare the end results but rather highlight the similarities and differences in the construction process of these.

The data from Leeds revealed that categorising population acted as a departure point for the analysis of the research and at a later stage in the analysis mediated the theoretical code of Social Process with Place Attachment. The Leeds data often referred to different groups of populations such as students, non-students, transient population as an indication to several aspects of a city from whether or not desiring to live there, to the ownership levels and cleanliness. Whereas in Istanbul this category revealed similar emphasis yet the meaning of categorising population had shown distinct differences, where the participants used the social status as a

reference point. This insight represents a difference in the social norms of the residents of diverse cultures.

This difference further focused on the significance of people as evidence and how participants interpret the representativeness of people. The memo below explains the initial stages of data emergence and thought trail during the categorisation of 'people as evidence'.

Memo on "people as evidence":

*It is interesting because Istanbul interviews focused on mainly how and what people look like can reveal a lot about what the area's social status is. Even down to the education level (even though there is no direct relationship or clear evidence).*

*Social status is a significant notion in Turkey and Turkish culture. As stated (or echoed) in the interviews that there is almost an unspoken agreement that "you would avoid certain looking people". While none of the participants can directly describe these "certain" people, there is already a perception towards them but more importantly this is reflecting strongly on their perceptions of that particular place as well. Whereas in Leeds "different looking" or "original" people represented the idea of "everyone is welcome so I feel safe" or "I feel home here". In Istanbul this has been almost the opposite effect.*



The above memo highlights the researcher's reflection on how some of the same categories can have different meanings. For instance, both Leeds and Istanbul residents used people as means of evidence for physical environment (hence the same coding and categorisation) however people also represented different notions for them.

These differences in social norms, in Leeds and Istanbul indicated that the existing residents have perceived attracting new population towards cities on different levels, which has also influenced their perceptions. This meaning, for instance, while the cultural and ethnic diversity of the population in Leeds made the city a more welcoming place to live, in Istanbul this created a distortion of population and gaps in between different social groups within the city.

Memo on welcoming environment:

*Following on from people as evidence, and the diversity of population, Istanbul participants interpreted this as an indication of growing population which has been the concern of the majority of the participants-due to the linking this of to unplanned zoning and urban development, traffic and transportation problems, and, safety. This forced the population to seek residency in more gated communities where there is a perceived degree of safety and order? Or is it that an imposed gated community lifestyle, served on a golden platter where it sets a new norm for Istanbul residents, where there is a building complex for every budget?*

This aspect highlighted in the above memo lead the researcher to give particular attention to how the meanings and such associations were created. Indeed such differences could have been overlooked as cultural differences. However what was interesting and significantly set the tone of the research was that despite the fact that both data sets were analysed separately, the coding and categorisation showed distinct similarities. Yet the codes and categories and their own contextual significance revealed differences. For example, 'diversity' meant the same notion for both Istanbul and Leeds residents; however what it represented was different (as it was discussed in detail previously and in the memo above).

#### **4.2.2 Construction of Place Attachment**

The development of Social Process introduced the researcher to the dynamics between places and individuals, and how they construct social interpretations within their residential cities. While, Social Process is considered as a social construction, hence the category name, Place Attachment, on the other hand, takes a step closer to the underpinning of these social constructions by exploring into more individual perspectives.

'Place Attachment' is one of theoretical codes of place identity mosaic that explains individuals' emotional connection to places. 'Places' in here specifically refers to their residential cities of Leeds and Istanbul, however

the participants were encouraged to elaborate when they mentioned about their attachment to other places such as their birth place or a previous residential city.

Place attachment, in general sense, emphasises a dialogue between the residential city and the individuals, which can occur positively (strong attachment) or in negative forms (detachment and disassociation). Time and experience give its multidimensional nature as their influence can either strengthen or loosen the dialogue, and the bond.

It is supported by four focused codes of relatedness, ownership & loyalty, involvement and pride, which are derived from *attachment, ownership, involving with community, detachment, feeling pride, feeling belongingness, physical environment and past vs. present.*

#### **4.2.2.1 Place Attachment in Leeds**

For Leeds' participants, relatedness plays a significant role in their '*attachment*' to a place. Relatedness is emphasised often via their linking self-concept to places and it can be traced from several influences ranging from personal interests and hobbies to friends and family.

*"I'm a musician so like music is really important to me.*

*Preston doesn't have much or a good music scene going*

*on so... I was in a band at the same time so I'd have always come back here for work and to go to gigs and stuff so, yeah, like the venues that I like are here; I miss those" (LP2)*

*"Oh I'm invested now, it is too late. Oh god, too many friends and people I like so that makes it difficult. Once you stayed somewhere that length of time, the temptation just to stay put is much, much greater" (LP3)*

While relatedness can strengthen attachment, it also acts as a departure point for 'ownership and loyalty' via 'involvement with the community'. This meaning, there requires to be a degree of ownership to tempt involvement, whilst ownership seeks for attachment.

*"There are a lot of people who wouldn't class themselves as residents who maybe don't feel that they have a stake in the area in anyway. So maybe they don't feel compelled to vote or get involved in the area in some way because it is quite a transient element to the community." (LP6)*

Indeed while this relationship does not imply a definitive formula, it highlights the close links between attachment, ownership and involvement, which proved to be a significant finding in the study as it led the researcher to ‘*belongingness*’ and ‘*feeling pride*’.

*“So it’s a great environment for the things that interest me and the ability to feel part of like a, you know it is somewhere where maybe noisy at times but you see lots of people about and you feel like a part of vibrant, social community where there is opportunity to do things” (LP5)*

*“I was brought up in an environment where it is normal to be involved in those kind of community activities but also I feel really connected to a place through getting involved and getting to know people” (LP7)*

These two concepts are observed to have long-term effects on individual’s relation to places. This is mainly because belongingness is a process where it evolves over a period of time and seeks the individual’s initiation. The degree of belongingness, on the other hand, feeds into the sense of feeling pride, where the participants are actively reflecting upon their strong, positive association with Leeds, often despite their clear negative connotations.

*“Yeah if somebody says where are you from, I am always proud to say Leeds. I don’t know why particularly but I think it is a great city. I mean not all of it obviously. There is bits a bit run down but that is life, isn’t it?” (LP8)*

*“There is little pockets of areas in villages just have your typical British bloke going a bit like eurgh, it makes you little cringe sometimes; that side of it is not nice. And I think that is a bit of a northern opinion to a certain aspect. On the other hand I am proud of Leeds because it is multicultural, so you can split those parts and think Leeds is great.”(LP9)*

*“Everybody that you could make out that has some kind of any recognition or brought any reputation to the city has also somehow come through this postcode and that simply because it is the one area that is the meeting place of all minds and cultures and things on the street that lead to a more open, thoughtful way of life and I think that is the main kind of, you know, catalyst of wider areas because it is more open to things and it breeds more innovation, more entrepreneurial kind of an enterprise than other areas that are suburban life.” (LP1)*

On the other hand, the participants' *'physical environment'* is another factor that has influences on their attachment to Leeds. While this wasn't a key finding in Leeds as much as it was in Istanbul (which will be discussed in the next section), it was associated with often a *'past vs. present'* comparison.

*"...there is a lot of hostile element to it (the area) that people just write off really and they don't necessarily get to know the positive energy, creative stuff that is happening behind all of that. I do think some of those physical environment things improved for a while." (LP7)*

It is important to note that while physical environment can influence the residents in positive ways, hence attachment, it can also create ways to detachment.

*"Woodhouse is more rough than Hyde Park but I don't feel, there is some poor families and there is, it is not an ideal place. It is not perfect." (LP3)*

*"I would say the shops are less interesting, the people and fashions are less interesting and there is more music than it used to be. Everything is just homogenised." (LP5)*

The construction of place attachment in Leeds reveals a multidimensional nature where the residents and the city are in a constant dialogue. 'Attachment' is the second mediating code as it being the intersecting point of relatedness, ownership & loyalty and involvement while linking the theoretical code of Place Attachment with Sense of Place.

#### **4.2.2.2 *Place Attachment* in Istanbul**

The data from Istanbul interviews draws significant attention to the relationship between relatedness and pride. While relatedness is strongly supported by visual environment in Istanbul, it also acts as a departure point for pride. Ownership and loyalty is, on the other hand, fed by the degree of pride in places while ownership indicates a minor impact on loyalty, though this is mainly depending on job opportunities provided within the city and/or region. Lastly, involvement is what most participants wish for in an attempt to recreate the nostalgia of the past and have the "community life" or "small town life" where there is a closer relationship between the residents and support for local businesses. However it is rarely acted upon due to social and everyday life pressures (i.e. pace of life, feeling safe), which implies a more individualistic nature of the Istanbul participants.

The data indicates a strong connection between '*visual environment*', '*feeling pride*' and '*belongingness*'. The influence of visual environment plays a key role in feeling pride that leads to belongingness. This influence was mainly observed to be a prolonging effect of the social process where



categorisation of population occurred via social status and by residential areas. This meaning, the visual environment elements (such as public spaces and people) had a strong influence in participants' "judgement" of a place and more importantly the individuals' willingness to connect and reflect, which indicates a higher value given to the societal meanings in Istanbul.

*"...For example a Macro(\*) Center doesn't exist everywhere. Migros(\*\*) is a little more widespread but there are places that Migros doesn't exist at all. The store profile in those places is a little different. The showcasing of vegetables in the stalls or the meat in the butcher, the things they put on display are different" (IP5)*

Researcher: And what do those mean? You've mentioned Macro and Migros, what does the existence of Macro Center in a place mean to you?

*"If there's a Macro Market, you know that everything inside is more expensive, and if it's more expensive, the people living there... I don't know if this association can be made, but at least it gives the impression. Someone shopping at Macro Market is more modern." (IP5)*

Significantly, while this indicates a degree of ‘*attachment*’ via the interpretation of the area as modern and its association to self-concept, this attachment doesn’t stretch to ‘*belongingness*’, which creates a disconnection. On the other hand, as can be seen in the data excerpt below, just because there is belonging to a place, this doesn’t feed into attachment and wanting live there.

*“There are places we call “gecekondu” (\*\*\*), you can see one out there near us. A little neighborhood that is more attractive to me. Even if the architecture, the infrastructure, the spatial organization (of a place) are ideal, it’s more important to belong there, to live that place along with others like you” (IP7)<sup>1</sup>*

There is a strong indication about what feeds belongingness is the ‘*involvement with the community*’ because it reenacts the nostalgia towards the lifestyle in the past and its comparison to present (*past vs. present*). This highlights that Istanbul residents are creating a past vs. present comparison via the social relations rather than the physical environment. However,

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<sup>1</sup> Macro Center is a nationwide supermarket chain that offers a wide range of gourmet products and stands out with its service and product exclusivity. It aims to make customers experience exclusivity. It is also a sub-brand of Migros.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Migros is a nationwide supermarket chain, offering a retail experience to its customers through wide selection of economic products and services.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Gecekondu is known as squatters or shanties across Turkey. It is attached with a specific lifestyle that is characterised as accommodating large families living in individual houses (often self made) with gardens and a strong sense of close community where everyone know and look after each other.

interestingly, when the participants asked if they are involved with any community activities, none of them said yes. This was mainly due to the perceived meaning of community involvement by the participants. In Istanbul, this was associated with supporting the local area by shopping from local, independent shops and building a relationship with the business owners as well as neighbours and other residents.

*“ I prefer buying my meat from the butcher. But if I’m going to buy an aftershave, I can buy it from the mall too. I prefer buying my wine from a gourmet shop but if I’ll just buy some coke, I can buy it from the booth at the corner.” (IP10)*

*“People living here are generally locals. You know the grocer, the shopkeepers, the butcher, and they know you too. Because they say “Who will buy stuff from me but you? Nobody will come from Besiktas to buy things here.” So we have more dialogue, more connections with the shopkeepers.”(IP9)*

*“It wasn’t like this where I was raised up. We always knew our neighbours; our mothers went to each other’s house for coffee at 10am. We shared our food. We prepared halva in religious days and distributed to each other.” (IP1)*

#### **4.2.2.3 Making sense of Place Attachment in Leeds and Istanbul**

The data from Leeds emphasised a less complex relationship in between the categories of Place Attachment. The residents' relatedness was the key to their attachment to not only their residential area but to the overall city. Significantly, their relatedness was strengthened not only via personal ties but also by the availability and representation of social interests.

The residents, who are not originally from Leeds, highlighted that they have chosen to live in Leeds because they liked the city when they visited before. However when they were asked to elaborate about what is it that they liked about the city (because in many cases they had alternative cities to choose to live), the residents emphasised a link between their self-concept with the city. This link ranged from personal interests and friends and family to social interests, which strengthened their loyalty to the city.

Memo on "attachment" (Leeds):

*There is an undeniable relationship between these categories (of attachment, ownership and the rest of place attachment and of social norms) however while I'm not trying to solve this relationship for this study, I am trying to understand the intricacy of the meanings and associations, as to why not another place but Leeds? Especially in the case of Leeds, the participants (non-Leeds born) stated that they had a few other alternatives and they wouldn't mind living in a different city.*

*During the analysis of Leeds data, coding almost followed a linear procedure, the picture was clearer. The transition from (methodological) initial coding to focused coding and the summative webs process felt smoother. Residents look for relatedness for attachment to a place and this followed by ownership and belonging. However, in Istanbul the process felt much more complex and simultaneous.*

In contrast, as also can be seen from the memo above, data from Istanbul revealed that the categories within place attachment were more overlapping and their relationship is much more complex. For instance attachment is in a mutual relationship with pride, however the key point is the influence of physical environment in feeling pride and relating self to place. This almost echoes the perspective of "gentrification attracts gentrifiers". The memo below captures the emergence of differences in the dynamics of place attachment in Leeds and Istanbul.

Memo on "feeling pride" and "belongingness":

*It is a significant insight that how the differences in dynamics can reveal a lot. In Istanbul there is a strong connection between visual environment, feeling pride and belongingness. Visual environment (and visual environment in here often includes people as evidence – social process) plays a vital role in feeling pride, which is in a mutual relationship with belongingness.*

*However in Leeds the process was quite the opposite. Even if the place was run down, it didn't get much emphasis from the residents, in fact it represented a "characteristic" place for them whereas in Istanbul it was a representation of their social status. Until this linking achieved, there wasn't a belonging and even a detachment.*

The Leeds data also resonated a tone where residents make their places of their own whereas in Istanbul the potential residents chose areas to live which are ready-made and tailored for them and have less interest in involvement. However, it is important to note in here that the meaning of involvement had also had different meanings in Leeds and Istanbul; for Leeds residents it meant active involvement and/or being a part of community projects whereas in Istanbul it was more associated it (and limited to) supporting local shops.

Lastly, it was observed that in Leeds place attachment took a more outward spiralling form where residents start with their local area and it then gradually

expanded to the city and the region level. Yet, in Istanbul, this was more of an inward spiral with disconnections; starts with associating self with Istanbul, then to the area (municipality) however this doesn't stretch out to a more local and street level. Its reflection is more on a pride level where there is an emphasis of "you are where you live in". This difference is by no means better or worse, nor the aim of this study is to find out, measure and/or exploit, however it was revealed that the categories are either loosely connected or often disconnected in Istanbul.

#### **4.2.3. Construction of Sense of Place**

The theoretical code of 'Sense of Place' is supported by two focused codes of perception and self-concept, which are derived from *feelings and environment, self and place, experience, perceptual processing and representation (of places)*.

Though this might sound an obvious interpretation and observation, the data draws specific attention to the participants' perception dependency to experience. The significance in here is the influence of residents' direct experiences with the city on the construction of their own perceptions. However, it was also evident from the data that places, both residential and birthplace (if different to current residing place) have a significant role on the development of self-concept thus its weight on experience and perception. Participants' self-identification with places (specifically with their residential

city), on the other hand, creates a loop effect and follows on from positive experience and perception, and self-concept.

In further, Sense of Place embodies the residents' first-hand, direct experience with, and perception of places. It also introduces a new perspective where the residents identify themselves in relation to a place. This identification, however, is not the same as 'relatedness' of Place Attachment. It is rather ways of residents' identifying themselves by places and the external elements (external to the residents, i.e. physical environment, public spaces) they use in this process in order to create self-distinctiveness. Identification is in a symbiotic relationship with relatedness and ownership, which means residents often require a degree of relatedness and ownership in order to identify, associate (or in negative situations, disassociate) themselves with places. This, indeed, is not a causal relationship however the adjectives and meanings used by the participants were used as an indicative factor of this symbiotic relationship.

'Perception', in the context of the present study, is an individual process that is constructed socially. This meaning that the residents use their own set of sensory to perceive a place, yet the end result is constructed collectively via the qualities of social 'experiences' within urban spaces. This interpretation of the data, thenceforth, led the researcher to explore the participants' self-concept in relation to certain places.



#### 4.2.3.1 *Sense of Place* in Leeds

Throughout the interviews, it was important for the researcher to adopt a more neutral tone to not lead the conversation and allow the participants to elaborate as naturally as possible. Hence, the category of '*feelings and environment*' contains both positive and negative statements. Indeed, this category could have been analysed separately as positive and negative feelings, however the main aim of the researcher in coding it neutral as feelings and environment was to explore and understand the process/es involved rather than a potential causal relationship outcome. The important point for the researcher was to be able to explore how the participants feel about where they live, and to where and if this might lead to.

The data from Leeds interviews revealed that it is mainly the positive feelings that the residents reflect upon, despite the clear negativities in their residential areas.

*"I say that but Hyde Park is really not (laughter) the smartest of areas but I still, I don't feel intimidated here. I know they have problems with gangs and crime where I was living there and I don't just feel intimidated around here." (LP3)*

*"I always say if a Martian was to land in Leeds and live in  
"oh that would think it was a beautiful" because the beautiful*

*buildings and fabric of the place is ... it's just a bit deprived I suppose.” (LP8)*

This positive emphasis suggests an indication of the influence of strong ownership, belonging and the potential cultural impact on the development of self-concept (in relation to places) and interpretations of places. ‘Feelings and environment’ is the third mediating code of Leeds interviews as it is in a mutually influential relationship with Place Attachment via ownership and belonging while acting as a bridge to Built Environment. However it is important to note that it is rather a fluid concept and can change over time. In the case of Leeds the positive feelings were strengthened over time through ‘experiences’:

*“The nature and the landscape... because it feels like that’s where we are from and because we got married there we have always gone there and take the kids, it is just a part of us.” (LP9)*

*“I think that sort of sense of personal safety and perception of crime has probably changed and that might be just being comfortable, I don’t know how it would be for people who have just come to Leeds now, but I think yeah, that has seem to be improved.” (LP7)*

The above excerpts highlight that the individuals' experiences have had an impact on their feelings about Leeds over time; often positive and/or strengthened feelings. However, it was often the individuals' experiences within their social life influenced how their '*perceptual processing*' of places occurs.

*"That's a good question. I'd have said- I mean Leeds has got quite an interesting culture in terms of art and music, I'm kinda part of that I suppose so I'd associate myself with that"*  
(LP4)

*"Perception of a place? I think it will be a general area. Not one, particular street or house or building but it is from knowing the area, walking the streets many, many times and having been in so many buildings for house parties, for meeting new people, for meeting new friends and then other people move house and then you go to new houses and new places."* (LP3)

*"I don't know maybe that's perception but it could just be because I'm getting older. When I started going to Brudenell,*

*it was just old men and now it is like a youth club type of thing, where everyone goes. It has changed a lot.” (LP6)*

While above data highlights the significance of social interactions and the perceptual processing of places, it also suggests that feelings and environment and perceptions about places are intertwined.

As it also can be seen from above data excerpts that during the perceptual processing of places, participants used meanings and associations from their previous experiences to make sense of '*representation of places*'. However this representation of places had a mirroring effect for exploring '*self and place*'. This meaning that cues about visual environment represent certain meanings and associations for individuals. This indicates an understanding of the influence of places during the constant development of self, and in reverse, the influence of self in perceiving and interpreting visual environment.

For instance, in a more specific example, the extract from interview 5 below highlights this mirroring effect and how the participant's self is influenced by his residential area:

*“People are going around and getting drunk, having fun and having that around you kind of... I think it makes you less... More young at heart just because that’s what everyone is doing. But if I had moved to some suburban area where people sat and watch tv and let their kids play in the garden, then that would seem more of the norm.” (LP5)*

Or, in reverse, how Participant 6’s perception, and more importantly interpretation of Leeds was influenced by her self-concept:

*“Well the town I grew up in was incredibly diverse. I think it is one of the most ethnically diverse places outside London and Birmingham. So in terms of that sort of ethnic diversity Leeds feels quite similar to where I grew up. In terms of what is going on culturally, it is massively... There is a massive sort of contrast between I grew up and in Leeds. There is so much going on in LS6 itself I think.” (LP6)*

#### **4.2.3.2. Sense of *Place* in Istanbul**

The data from Istanbul interviews revealed a stronger sense of ‘*feelings and environment*’ where the residents’ feelings towards the city play a more focal role to their overall perception of the city. The data indicates a general negative tone of the residents’ feelings:

*“Culturally, there’s Akatlar Cultural Center in the region. Apart from that Zorlu Center hosts some musicals etc, but apart from those, everything around here forces you to consumption. Back in the day, it was possible to go down the Bosphorus and walk near the sea but today, it’s not actually pleasurable.”(IP10)*

*“The infrastructure of the streets, the rain gutters... That’s general problem in Turkey actually. The trees are not pruned by specialists, the Municipality tasks random people for it and the pruning is done randomly. And there’s the traffic. Not only for Atakoy but for Istanbul in general.” (IP12)*

Interestingly, the negative emphasis suggests a delicate association with the overall city initially; however the participants often elaborated on a more positive approach to their specific residential areas than the overall city.

This indicates a more individualistic approach to the overall city experience where residents are more concerned about where they live, their building, street or in most cases in Istanbul, their gated community building complex, rather than a more social, community level.

*“As I’ve seen from my friends, I’d like it (own housing) to be a secure complex. Some complexes are beside an avenue but have their own enclosed space with playgrounds, pools, fitness centers etc, it’s like that these days. I’d like my child to go three floors down and play soccer with his friends, or play in the park very much” (IP8)*

*“I’ve never lived in a building complex before, this is my first time. Before moving here, I didn’t have something like ‘I should live in a complex’ or not in my mind... The house in the complex was more suitable to my financial condition. That’s why I preferred it but I got used to it and if I had a new alternative with the same standards, one in an apartment building the other In a building complex, I’d choose the complex for security.” (IP5)*

Throughout the interviews, none of the residents of Istanbul stated a negative experience regarding their safety. However, the excerpts above indicate that their ‘*perceptual processing*’ is highly influenced by what is available and presented to them and not by their own or social experiences. In contrary, most of the residents want the experience of a small town life style but they also prefer a gated community life. The ‘*experience*’ of living in a gated community life sets a standard for most of the Istanbul residents and the ‘*representation of places*’ for them.

Whilst this representation resonates a safer environment for the residents of Istanbul, it is also a significant finding that their perception process is under constant change and influenced by urban developments and, more importantly, by representations of the urban. This meaning, it is understood from the emerged data that the demand for gated communities did not rooted from the residents' needs but rather imposed as an ideal living by the urban governance. This can be observed clearly when the majority of the participants wish for a "small town life" or "street life" where their kids can play outside, yet the same majority has also chosen to live in a gated community complex because only those complexes provide that environment these days.

#### **4.2.3.3 Making sense of Sense of Place in Leeds and Istanbul**

Throughout the analysis of Sense of Place, the main finding was a window through to understanding how the residents' make sense of themselves in association to where they live.

In Leeds, the tone of interviews was mainly positive which is observed to be a prolonging effect of their ownership and belonging. As it was discussed previously, place attachment in Leeds centred within the residents' immediate environment and sprawls out and here in Sense of Place it was seen that this is often reflected positively. This reflection was not only to outsiders (non-residents) but also occurred productively as involvement and



a stronger self and place association. The memo below reflects the initial views on the categorisation process.

Memo on "self and place":

*This is where it starts to take the shape of "inside out" approach and making sense. Leeds- a simplified summary so far is that the residents and the city are in a harmonious relationship.*

*Of course there are issues in this relationship but the residents' very first reaction to "what is your perception of Leeds?" and "how do you feel about where you live?" was mainly positive. People remember positive things about the residential area and the city. This makes them want to be involved with their community- this involvement can be from keeping their garden clean to being actively involved in projects. This creates a healthy image.*

However in Istanbul this was a different story where the feelings and environment were dominantly negative and the emphasis was towards the overall city. This was interesting in comparison to Leeds since the residents of Istanbul indicated their perception is differentiated by where they live to the overall city. This was mainly linked to their perceptual processing and how it has been forming.

In Leeds previous experiences had an influence on residents' perceptual processing and representation of places for them. This linear and mutually influential relationship was discussed in detail previously. In Istanbul this

relationship, on the other hand, was more clustered and these clusters were often free-floating. For instance, all the Istanbul participants had nostalgia about the time when they were growing up playing on the streets and when all neighbours knew and helped each other: experience. Also, none of the participants mentioned of a previous negative experience about where they live or the city either: experience. However the majority (not all of them) emphasised about their desire to live in a gated community or how content they are in the case of already living in one. This lifestyle or choice was not necessarily depending on their previous experience yet it shapes their perceptual processing and representations of places for them. The memo below also highlights this and facilitates the need to explore the influence of this built environment further.

Memo on perception:

*Through focused coding it is now clearer to understand the initial and open codes. When I did initial coding, the data (it was mainly the process for me to make initial sense of data), I ended up with around 400 something codes including in total. Then I moved to open coding and the data started making sense however it was only after focused coding the relationships between categories and codes started to emerge and make sense.*

*Negative sense of place in Istanbul is associated with less attachment and less attachment is associated with living in smaller, independent communities within cities and within regions. There is also a disconnection between their experiences, what they want to do and what is actually happening. This will be clearer once the focused coding has finished.*

The relationship inbetween the categories in Istanbul were a bit like Matryoshka dolls. Gated communities often provide all the immediate necessities of daily living, such as small convenience shops to playgrounds for kids to leisure activities such as tennis courts, swimming pools and gyms. This had an impact on how people started experiencing the city and how they perceive and lastly how the “norm” of representations of places changes for them.

#### **4.2.4. Construction of Built Environment**

The theoretical category of ‘Built Environment’ is supported by two focused codes of urban development and public infrastructure, which are supported by *population density, green spaces, transport and scale of places*. Built environment, in general, refers to the residents’ own observations and interpretations of changes of the urban. Although the previous theoretical codes were not particularly focused on a time scale, built environment often includes a spectrum of time. However the emphasis is not on the length of this time scale or any other specificity of it. This is because the researcher’s interest lies in on more towards the residents’ reactions to and interpretations of changes to both cities over time, instead of trying to measure the impacts of these specific changes. Thus, throughout the interviews the researcher kept a neutral approach to the concept of time and simply referred as “in the past”, “over the years” and “currently/ now”.

The analysis of the data collected suggests that the availability and access to *Public Infrastructure* has been one of the elements that the residents use to assess the quality of life in cities. In the case of the present study, the public infrastructure refers to the substructures within the urban that is available to the public, such as transport, energy, water and government regulated maintenance (i.e. road works).

Indeed the geographical size of Leeds and Istanbul has significant differences, however the residents' response and reaction to the availability and access has been the focus in this category. The researcher also aimed to understand if and how this influences their overall perceptions, attachment and loyalty to the residential cities of the participants following on from the development of categories discussed previously.

Furthermore, the focused code of *Urban Development* mainly centres on the changes to the city and the local regions of residency. It emphasises physical developments to cities and focuses on the impacts and influences from a more sociological perspective.

#### **4.2.4.1 Built Environment in Leeds**

For Leeds participants the impact of changes and developments within built environment has less significance than it is in Istanbul. For Leeds participants the '*population density*' in certain areas is specifically related to

the student population, which is interpreted as one of the key drivers for urban development. As a consequence of accommodating two big universities, the urban developments within Leeds have been mainly driven by the increasing student population.

*“I suppose there is a more higher amount of students than in the past. Especially with having two universities in the city. Erm, I’d say that the changes that I have noticed in terms of, like shops changing since we have got a lot more, sort of, larger franchises around where there used to be smaller shops. I’d say that’s more- not just in here but in area, that’s capitalism I suppose.” (LP4)*

*“And over the years I think there are less students living in Hyde Park but that’s because the universities are creating their own halls of residence because obviously they want the student money for themselves” (LP5)*

*“I’d say 10 years ago the area was pretty much crap. It was run down a lot. Certainly a lot more than what it is now. Because you had the changeover over the static breadline, working class population still here that have kinda moved. A lot of the people I know up just past Headingley to Queens*

*Wood and places like that and out towards Kirkstall way so what you've got is now more of a student community in here.” (LP1)*

Whilst it is evident from the interview excerpts above that population density heavily influences not only the social changes (linking back to Social Norms) but also urban development in Leeds.

The participants acknowledge an increasing density of population in Leeds (students, in particular) and its impacts on the urban developments, nevertheless these changes only impact their societal observations on the city and not influenced their individual experience as a residence. It is, however, important to note at this point that this minimal influence discussed in here is specific to the context of urban developments.

One of the possible reasons for this minimal impact of urban developments on the residents' quality of life could be the access and availability of '*transportation links*' within the city. As it is also suggested by the data examples above that indeed the influx of student population pushed a portion of 'local' residents to seek new areas in Leeds to live, with main reasons being the behaviour of this particular population and the increasing housing prices. However the well-connected transportation links played an important

role on keeping the quality of life experience in Leeds stable as emphasised by Participant 1:

*“So you got every form of transport on your doorstep and it is a lot more connected than a city. Most other areas, not only Leeds but of the country because I don’t think you would find a proximity as close to A- the city center but B- the airport and see, you know to get to places like Otley, Ilkley or even stuff like Golden Acre Park so you have got, kind of, you are in a great location, of say Hyde Park or Headingley to be able to get around and get to the city center and jump on a train to London or Manchester or anywhere else but then again you are not city center without the relative kind of life style not being able to walk straight out into a shopping mall or something like that.” (LP1)*

In further, whilst widely available and easy access to transportation links provided connection of Leeds with its suburbs, this is also linked the ‘*scale (of places)*’. Scale (of places), being the final mediating code of Leeds data, refers to not only physical and natural environment but also scale of built environment. It is acknowledged by the majority of the participants that the size of the cities has a strong influence on the overall perception and experience of life in a city,

*“I think Leeds is just a great size, it is kind of big enough that lots going on but not so big that it loses that community sort of feel to it, so all your friends live in a very close kind of close proximity. And I love the fact that it is easy to get to other cities from Leeds because it is quite central in the country. And I love being able to go to the countryside, you know, it is 20 minutes and you are in the Dales. “ (LP6)*

*“If I lived in a bigger city, say, somewhere like in London, then I may have friends but they might be in an hour, an hour and a half distance, and I’m not gonna come back home in time for work on a Wednesday night, tired, and travelling an hour and a half to see a friend” (LP5)*

Lastly, throughout the interviews the participants often referred to the availability of ‘green spaces’ in Leeds and its positive impact on their “wanting to live in Leeds”. This suggests that despite the density of population and urban renewal and development, the preservation of green spaces had minimal impacts. Significantly, though, the data also reveal the importance of green spaces in perceiving and assessing places.

*“Leeds is quite good for that, it’s got a lot of green space. When they talk about it being compact, you can be out in*



*the countryside in ten minutes, you know. Beautiful countryside at that.” (LP8)*

*“But for an area that I want to live in, it would be somewhere that is probably a bit more open space and green land instead of being in a built up area.” (LP9)*

*“The area I live in right now is actually quite fancy... Nature near by and the forest, being there is expensive because you buy a little bit of the park and countryside and greenery and there is birds and foxes and hedgehogs” (LP3)*

#### **4.2.4.2. Built Environment in Istanbul**

The data from Istanbul interviews drew significant attention to the influence of built environment on the residents' experience and overall perception of the city. In Istanbul, the '*population density*' is an effect that was experienced on a larger scale by the residents. This meaning that there wasn't a particular area(s) in Istanbul emphasised by the residents where the population is dense, but it is rather the city is sprawling at a faster pace and the residents are experiencing the side effects on a day-to-day basis.

*“As I said, I didn’t like Istanbul before because of its crowd and traffic. I couldn’t understand how those people occupied that same space. So much people, where do they live, how do they live? How can they all be together at the same place at the same time? It seems frightening to me” (IP1)*

*“It (crowd) affects the traffic, our breathing spaces are getting smaller and smaller, there are buildings everywhere.” (IP6)*

*“Istanbul is a very beautiful city but I believe that it’s not being given the value it deserves. We have some historical values that must be valued much, much more. There’s unplanned zoning and a gradual crowding that I don’t like” (IP8)*

*“There are Parisians in Paris. In Istanbul there’s almost no chance of being an Istanbuler. It’s a place where 17, 18 even 20 million people live. There was something called an “Istanbul Lady”. Because there was less people and no immigration. Along with immigration, everything has changed, and Istanbul ended” (IP11)*

The data excerpts above indicate that population density in Istanbul is mainly as a consequence of intense immigration. However it is important to note that what did the participants refer as the “immigration” here is internal migration of the Turkish population to Istanbul from other cities and regions.

Unlike in Leeds, the issues around population density influenced not only the residents’ quality of life but also the developments in the urban. In terms of quality of life it is the everyday traffic and commuting issues (*“transport”*) whilst in terms of urban development it is the fast pace of change and limited availability of *‘green spaces’* as a result.

There are several aspects to the transportation issues that the residents encounter in Istanbul. It not only an issue of its availability but also its efficiency:

*“Public transportation is not separated from the main roads. The public transport vehicles use the same roads as the private vehicles. In a traffic jam, public transport vehicles wait alongside private vehicles. In a private vehicle there’s a single passenger but the public transport has a hundred people who are trying to go to work, sometimes standing up. Then you wait them to perform well. That makes me sad” (IP12)*

Such issues mentioned above put most of the residents in a situation where they feel they are limited by having to commute by their own car and/or, at times, avoiding travelling completely:

*“You have to plan (travelling). And I try not to go very far actually. For example, yesterday I crossed over to the other side to see a friend. I try not to use a car. I used the ferry to Kadıkoy and went from there with a taxi.” (IP6)*

*“When you come to Istanbul, you get on to a bus, you have to go to Üsküdar from Harem with a shuttle, you go to Besiktas with a boat, then get into a taxi etc. This kind of constantly changing vehicles was very hard for me.” (IP1)*

*“The public transportation in Istanbul is not really good. I was using the metrobus but my husband was driving me there. I don’t have the means to go there with a taxi because it’s really close, however I can’t walk every morning because it’s really uphill. So I think most people are like me in this regard, and they say “I’ll just take my car”. These make the traffic unbearable in Istanbul.” (IP8)*

The issues with transportation and traffic caused a general dilemma for the residents because where transportation is widely available; there was no/little green spaces. Significantly the availability of green spaces had a particular emphasis on Istanbul residents:

*“Its (trees on the streets) importance for me may be something personal but having parks, gardens, green spaces around is something we all want in our community. Is it enough where I live? (Building complex) No, it’s not enough but at least it’s more than the rest of Istanbul and that makes me happy.” (IP5)*

*“When I look out from the balcony or sit in the living room, I can see trees, I can see around, I can see a little of the horizon line which is very important to me. Or having a park nearby is important.” (IP7)*

*“It’s called a (building) complex, when we first moved here, when I looked through here, I only saw green. Then a building complex was built, then another, then another, so the green area went further and further back. However, I can go to Etiler or Ulus in 10 minutes. I can walk to Zorlu Center, which*

*became an incredible social center, especially on Friday nights, in 5 minutes” (IP8)*

During the analysis it was brought to the researcher’s attention that most of the green spaces available to the residents were through gated community building complexes. The residents felt inclined to look for housing in gated community complexes because 1) perception of safety in gated communities (discussed in detail, in social process) and 2) the availability of green spaces within these building complexes. While this (and its safety) feature of gated communities attracted more residents, this caused a more vertical expansion of the city in terms of housing developments. The data revealed that this is another emphasis that had a negative influence of the overall city experience and quality of life. This can be observed from the data relevant to the ‘*scale (of places)*’ where the residents often referred the size of available green spaces, the city’s expansion and even the increasing high rising buildings.

*“We live in very large buildings. It has 17 floors and 53 residences. This is just one of the buildings and there are 13 buildings in the complex just like this one. There is no concept of neighborhood. It disturbs me. People are very individualistic, very closed.” (IP1)*

*“Something that grabbed my attention in those cities, is that the corner buildings are cut. On crossroads the buildings are cut and the perception of areas is widened this way. It’s a characteristic trait of that city, it makes you feel good when you walk in it. You don’t feel that way in Istanbul. You go from a large road to a smaller one and you suddenly feel oppressed.”*

*(IP2)*

Whilst it may not be direct and clear, but the data excerpts above echo that population density, green spaces and transport is intertwined, having an avalanche effect on the residents. This meaning, the city attracts an influx of migration by urban development projects, mainly housing. However indeed these projects attract the outsiders and valuable investment, the city has also difficulties in accommodating the existing resident needs and creates a dissatisfying, chaotic environment.

#### **4.2.4.3. Making sense of Built Environment in Leeds and Istanbul**

The data from both Leeds and Istanbul reveal that the built environment and changes to the urban has the same significance but different influences. For instance whilst the population density was something emphasised by both city’s residents however their experiences revealed to be different.

In Istanbul, the population density was experienced on a much more intense level where the residents' day-to-day lives and perception of the city was influenced negatively. The population density in Istanbul was experienced on across the city whereas in Leeds it was referred to as 'student areas'. The 'locals' in Leeds emphasised that it is easy to avoid those areas and that the well structured, widely accessible transportation links plays a significant role in this perception. However in Istanbul it was harder for the residents to avoid, not only because there is not a specific area that is densely populated, but also the urban structure and design of the city makes it difficult for them to move out to the suburbs<sup>2</sup>.

Memo on transport:

*The difficulties with the transportation in Istanbul is another consequence of why people are less keen on moving out to the suburbs and why they prefer to live closer to the city centres (centres because there are now several municipalities that are almost cities on their own). This dynamic creates a demand for city centre living, which it seems in return forces/ influences/ impacts the government decisions to give permission to build tall buildings/ skyscrapers.*

*(Power game of land development and building companies over local governments)*

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to stress here that the notion of suburbs is very limited in Istanbul; the perception of the city has changed over the years and sprawled at such a speed that the previously known as suburbs are now the 'city centre'. The change in conceptions of city suburbs and the city centre, hence, is different to English cities and their suburbs.



As also stressed in the memo above, the scale of places and buildings has a more significant impact on the residents of Istanbul. It is important to highlight here that the impact is equally the same in Leeds however its impact is more on a positive level whereas in Istanbul, it is a negative association with living in the city.

Leeds residents often referred to the compact size of the city where all the amenities and leisure activities within reach, as well as the highly emphasised green spaces. However Istanbul residents often referred to the lack of green spaces as well as the scale of buildings and the vertical expansion of the city.

Memo on scale of places (including built environment:

*Interestingly Istanbul residents don't want the city to sprawl any further because it is losing its character, its feel, which combined with its history, it has a lot to offer to its residents.*

*A city needs to be able to breathe while aiming to grow and develop. However as it is seen in this category that it is important to consider how changes/ decisions on urban planning influences its residents.*

*Yes, people are becoming more mobile but do cities consider in the long terms or the sustainability of cities?*

The development and analysis of built environment revealed significant insight for the importance of the size and scale of the city and built environment in residents' daily lives. Indeed Istanbul and Leeds are in different sizes, and the residents are under the influence of different cultures. However both city residents emphasised the same, fundamental ideas of their built environment such as green spaces, scale of the city and buildings at the surrounding areas.

#### **4.3. Overview of the Place Brand Identity Mosaic**

The principal purpose of this particular study was to develop a theory, which could explain the dynamics of concept of identity in the context of city branding. Previous studies in the subject field of place branding drew attention to the similarities to corporate and traditional branding, often disregarded and/or overlooked brand identity's dynamic nature, while, marketing and branding of cities assume a static stance and attempt to shape and mould to the convenience of city's promotion to outsiders. Several influences imply the importance of the present research into places and identity.

These include what constitutes a place brand identity, what makes cities specific and important in the context of overall place branding and the necessity of harmonisation of environmental psychology, urban studies and branding literature in the pursuit of making sense of city branding. Significantly the insight on the role of residents in the context of city branding

were very limited, hence this study's inside-out approach and emphasis on residents' perspective. In consequence, the present research has significance in attempting to build up a theory explaining the place brand identity dynamic with specific attention to cities.

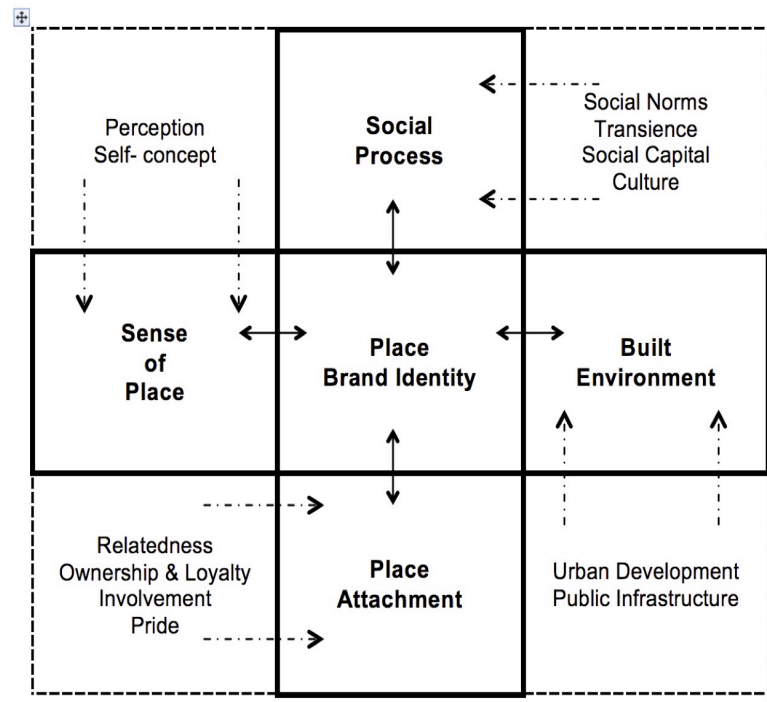
The analysis of the data collected from Leeds, UK and Istanbul, Turkey enabled the researcher to construct 'the place brand identity mosaic' which is presented in Figure 4.7. in the overleaf. The most significant finding of this theory is the explanation of the mirroring and interdependent relationship between the each concepts of identity and places. From the analysis of the data collected, it is revealed that:

1. The concept of brand identity in places is not static but a dynamic and organic process in essence through which the identity of a place evolves over time. There is no set formula that can be generated for cities across the globe. For cities to be effective and sustainable in their branding efforts, a contextualised approach needs to be undertaken where the sociological relationship between cities and their residents is understood.
2. Unlike the traditional stance in branding, the concept of identity in place branding is reciprocally created with the self-concept of the residents. The "brand identity" of cities is a notion that is in

a constant mutual creation process and shared as a value that benefits both parties of cities and residents.

3. Despite the variation in residents' needs and wants from their cities, there are shared communalities such as safety and belongingness. What was interesting and significant were the differences in meanings and associations of these shared communalities, in different cultural contexts. For example, while diversity is associated with welcoming and safety in Leeds, it meant unknown and chaos in Istanbul.
4. Sense of place, place attachment, built environment and "human" element in places are found to be the key pieces of the place brand identity mosaic. Significantly though, these elements are not ingredients of a place identity, but they coexist within. The chemistry between these pieces is more fluid, complex, and often unbalanced and less static.
5. Ownership, engagement and involvement are acting as a bridge between city and its residents. While ownership and engagement is closely related in Leeds and enacted by the residents, Istanbul findings revealed gaps between ownership, engagement, involvement and identity and residents. This had an influence on the connectedness and relatedness of residents and their outlook on the city.

**Figure 4.7. Place Brand Identity Mosaic**



In summary, sense of place (SoP), place attachment (PA), built environment (BE) and human element (HE) coexist simultaneously within the place brand identity concept and are interdependent with residents' self-concept. These influence and get equally influenced by ownership and engagement; cities own and engage with residents as much as residents own and engage with the city, which in consequence emphasises the rationale and the need for an inside-out approach to city branding.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

## **5. Chapter Introduction**

Unlike the traditional research structure where the literature review drives the research aims and objectives, the nature of grounded theory research calls for a review of literature at a later stage, hence the structure of the present study. As May (1986) highlighted that a detailed, long and uncritical literature review in a grounded theory study suggests an overdependence on existing knowledge which goes against the fundamental purpose of grounded theory to generate theory instead of testing it.

The most substantial finding of the present study was discovering the elements that contribute towards an inside out approach to city branding (which are Social Process, Place Attachment, Sense of Place and Built Environment) and what these elements mean under the influence of difference cultures. The four main emergent categories can explain that the nature of place brand identity is a dynamic concept that is also often fluid. More importantly the study also revealed that these elements are often in a symbiotic and interdependent relationship.

Whilst the present research is limited by its mere emphasis on the residents' perspective it has significant implications for theory and practice. The present study's implications for practice include the areas of city management and policymaking. In terms of theoretical implications, the place brand identity mosaic has influences on several emerging research fields within branding (brand identity, brand perception and co-creation), place development and

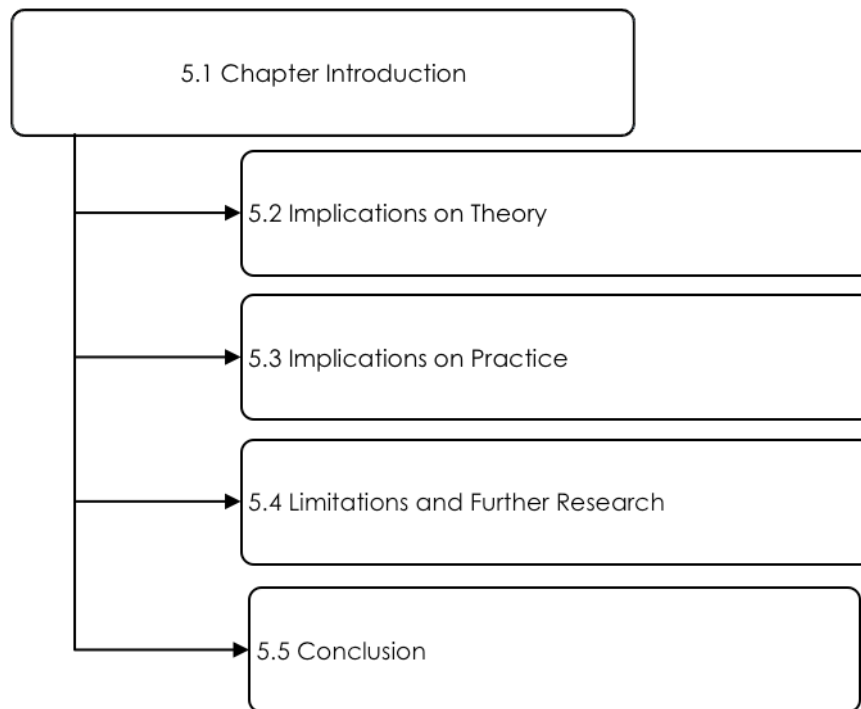
management (concept of identity in places, dynamics of place brand identity) and environmental psychology (concept of representativeness within cities) or an independent subfield of place branding and/or itself as a multi-and-interdisciplinary field.

As the consequence of carrying out a grounded theory research, this chapter takes a more “overall discussion” form. It will start by systematically discussing the main findings by exploring the pertinent literature related to the concept of identity in branding (including place branding). It is important to note here that whilst the main interest of subject of this particular research lies in with branding, due to the multi and cross disciplinary nature of findings, the researcher will also explore notions associated to urban studies and sociology.

The theoretical and practical implications of the study will be discussed under two different headings and the chapter will conclude with limitations of the study and further research. Figure 5.1 below illustrates the outline of the chapter.



Figure 5.1 Outline of Discussions Chapter



### **5.1 Implications for Theory**

The above section gave a synopsis of the overall contributions of the present research. This section will discuss the implications on theory by integrating the findings of this study with the extant literature. The implications on theory will follow the structure of place brand identity mosaic elements, and, will start discussing Social Process, followed by Place Attachment, Sense of Place and Built Environment.

Since the main focus of the present study is the concept of identity, and due to its organic and dynamic nature, this section will integrate literature derived from traditional branding and marketing, environmental psychology and

urban studies (including human geography). Indeed the main subject field of the present study is branding, place branding in specific, the multi and cross-disciplinary nature of this has been the key emphasis throughout the research, which explains its unique contribution to knowledge.

#### **5.1.1 Implications for ‘Social Process’ in Place Brand Identity**

The present study revealed that place brand identity is an organic construct that is under constant change, however, what was new and more significant is that it is constructed through social meanings as well as individual, hence the importance of social meaning construct in relation to places. Taking a step back, whilst the researcher highly acknowledges the complicated and sophisticated nature of the word “place” and has no intentions to get into the depths of human geography, it is essential to understand, and, for the purpose of the discussions chapter to establish a perspective of what we mean by ‘a place’.

As suggested by Creswell (2014) a place is more than just a vague reflection of a neighbourhood, a town, a city or a location but is rather “*a way of understanding the world*” (pg. 18). This perspective goes beyond describing a place as the mere existence of spatial science, geographical borders and buildings that a place may contain and it emphasises an assembly of connections and attachments that are under constant meaning construct through between people and places. This is a significant viewpoint especially in the case of the present study where the focus of the ‘place’ in question is

cities, where the intensity of these meanings and processes are under the microscope and magnified due to their scale and importance on human life (*see chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on cities*). Geographers such as Tuan (1974, 1977), Relph (1976) and Buttimer and Seamon, (1980) adopted a more humanistic approach to the notion of place and argued that human perception, experience and interaction represents and distinguishes places for us. Integration of this perspective seems to be lacking in the general place branding activities in an attempt to fit a certain 'image' to the city for promotion.

In consideration of this, in the place brand literature, Kavaratzis and Ashworth's (2015) emphasised on the mutually informative and effective role of culture on place branding whilst stressing that there is a disconnection between culture and place. The findings of this study expand this further and reveal the importance of culture as an organism of the social process within cities. Indeed what we see of places are just a collection of images however what we process and make sense is our own individual and social experiences. It is revealed that the dynamics between people and place is often crystallised by *culture* and the *social norms* associated to them.

Despite the clear social and geographical differences between Leeds and Istanbul, social process evolves around and in between the same four elements of social norms, transience, social capital and culture. Whilst it was interesting and surprising to find this similarity, the main revelation was the

differences in meanings associated to these four elements, what they meant, how they were being interpreted and the power game between them, even right down to the semiotics. For instance the residents of Leeds consistently mentioned of a transient population whereas residents of Istanbul referred to this as “people come and go”. Indeed the researcher considered this difference as a possible and natural outcome of the use of Turkish and English languages used by the residents during the interviews, the significance here is how these meanings were constructed. Though *transience* in Leeds meant the population of students and their behaviour, in Istanbul this transience meant on a much bigger level, a group of population that is amalgamated into the existing population for years. Alternatively, another example is where the ethnic and social diversity in population meant a more welcoming environment in Leeds; in Istanbul it meant unknown, chaos and/or even unsafe.

Indeed these differences in meaning constructs can also be a product of the influence of the geographical structure, size and even geopolitical location of both cities; the emphasis here is that place branding and urban governance needs to consider these differences in decision making. This is a particularly important finding of the present study as it shifts to focus to the *social capital* generated within the urban.

As defined by Bourdieu (1985) social capital is “ the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of

more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (pg. 248). Baker (1990), on the other hand, limits the perspective down to the structure of these relationships, rather than the potential or actual resources that can be accessed via these networks (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). Coleman (1990), focused on the function of social capital and defined it as “ a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors, whether persons or corporate actors within the structure.” (pg.302). While economic capital focuses on the monetary value and human capital on the stock of knowledge and its individuality, perspectives on social capital stress its intangible core character of mutual reliability (Portes, 2000) and providing “collectivity-owned capital” back to its members (Bourdieu, 1986 pg.249 and Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998)

Furthermore Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) analyse the attributes of social capital in three clusters of structural, relational and cognitive dimensions. The structural embeddedness concerns the social system and the network of relations (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The relational embeddedness refers to the type of relationships that influence behaviour (Gravovetter, 1992; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998 and Pillai, Hodgkinson, Kalyanaram and Nair (2015). Lastly, cognitive dimension describes the resources that provide ‘shared systems of meaning’ among the members (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998 pg. 244).

Despite its various forms, the basics of social capital lies in two fundamental characteristics: first, that they are considered to be an aspect of a social structure and second, they facilitate an environment for actions (Coleman, 1990; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Burt, 1992 and Pillai *et al.* 2015).

Following these perspectives on social capital theory, it is understood that it is not something that can be managed but rather organically generated within, inside-out. As emphasised earlier above and by Burt (1992) that unlike any other forms of capital, no particular group within the relationship has the right to sole ownership rights and that it is owned jointly. In perspective of this, the findings are also contrary to the adoption of a top-down approach to place branding (Anholt, 2007; Virgo and De Chernatony, 2006; Dooley & Bowie, 2005; Kotler & Gertner, 2002) where it is echoed that social capital is something that could be managed under the leadership of governments and tourism (Aitken and Campelo, 2011).

However, whilst social capital theory lies in parallel line with the inside out approach to city branding with its collective central message, it is not without limitations. Pillai *et al.* (2015) discussed the negative effects of social capital on economy and society by citing Putnam (2000) about the potential threats of exclusion of people who do not belong to particular social entities as a result of bonding social capital. Arneil (2006), in particular, focused on the possibility of the protection of self-interest by dominant groups. This echoes the power games and conflicts of interest within the cities. Indeed this is an

issue that was embedded in previous research, the findings of the study expanded this further. In Istanbul, the conflict of interest was not only limited to the local communities but also the local and nationwide governance as well as inbetween and around these pockets of groups. The financial power of landowners and developers fed the strength of local governments' interest of attracting economic capital (mainly via land development) while this often clashed with the residents' needs, and even often caused them to feel excluded.

Subsequently, the emergence of social process, in the present study, emphasised 1) the beginnings of understanding the relationship between people and place, 2) the similarity of core elements required to understand and make sense of this relationship within the context of cities (social norms, transience, social capital and culture) and finally 3) the significance of the differences in meaning constructs in different geographies. Indeed the words 'social norms, transience, social capital and culture' are universal, the meanings and more importantly how we construct these meanings are geographically contextualised.

### **5.1.2 Implications for 'Place Attachment' in Place Brand Identity**

This study found out that there is a close association between social norms within the urban and place attachment, and how they are mutually reliant and informative. As it was discussed above, social capital requires mutual reliability, this means, as highlighted by Portes (2000), that there needs to be

*relatedness* between individuals and others, and others meaning not only other people but also places. This perspective also has been heavily discussed in branding literature as well in the context of corporate branding and its link to social identity literature.

Ashforth and Mael (1989) discussed that Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) can be applied to understand organisational identity, where the organisation is seen as a social group and there is an integration of individual's self-concept with the organisational identity. Despite the initial static, unified view on self-concept, researchers abandoned this idea to elaborate further and agree on the multidimensional and dynamic structure and use it to refer to the multiplicity of identity (Markus and Wurf, 1987; Burke, 1980; Martindale, 1980 and Stryker, 1980). Markus and Wurf (1987) further argued that self-concept and identity research veered towards the notion of self-concept containing a variety of representations that are not just verbal or image based but also include depictions of demographic characteristics of past, present and future. This view was also engrained in the nature of the present study where the associations between self (both in social and individual aspect), place through the notions of relatedness and representations. However the representations in here refer to the both representations of places to outsiders and to the residents but also the representations of people in regards to places. This intertwined relationship created a platform to serve the mutually reliant and informative nature of the place attachment elements.



Similarly, Maxwell and Knox (2009) drew attention to the similarity of this concept with employer branding (in the context of corporate branding) and suggested that an attractive and a unique employer brand can motivate employees to “live the brand” (pg.5). This promotes employers to reflect a more positive image of the organisation to external stakeholders (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991) through the positive representation of self-concept. There are several examples of this in corporate world such as Google, Facebook, Dropbox and Airbnb.

In this perspective, this study revealed that in the context of places and place branding, this ‘reflection of positive image’ occurs in forms of *relatedness, ownership and loyalty, involvement and pride*, despite the cultural, social and geographical differences of the two cases. However it is important at this stage to clarify what involvement entails. There is a general consensus amongst researchers and practitioners that the use of the word involvement implies a distinction between different types of involvement rather than a stand alone meaning (Laurent and Kapferer, 1985).

Houston and Rothschild (1977) made a distinction of enduring and situational involvement where the former relates to a more general and permanent concern and the latter refers to a more situational behaviour (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985). Arora (1982) discussed enduring involvement further by stating that it derives from centrally held values of the consumers that defines

their identity and their ego (Ostrom and Brock, 1968). Another distinction highlighted by the researchers is personal involvement (Laurent & Kapferer, 1985 and Zaichkowsky, 1985) where the choice of brand relates to the self-concept because of their symbolic meaning and capacity to express lifestyle or personality (Levy, 1959).

In reflection of this, in Leeds, the dynamics were less complicated where there was a harmony between the elements of place attachment, yet, in Istanbul it was much more complex. For instance, the data from Leeds revealed that the ownership and loyalty is enhanced by relatedness and fed into involvement into community projects and subsequently to the feeling of belongingness and pride. This dynamism was observed to be an organic and sustainable way of creating and being a part of, as well as reflecting, a positive image. However in Istanbul, this was done in a less sustainable way where relatedness was on a relatively minimal level and heavily relied on visual environment (including built environment and people as evidence) whereas ownership was fed by pride. Involvement, on the other hand, was just a nostalgic idea where the residents yearn for but something not actively interested in being a part of. This also highlights a gap in the social dynamism and suggests a top-down approach of the urban governance and policymaking where the focus is on the creation, management and communication of city brand image to outsiders.

This, as it was also revealed in the data, caused individualistic pockets of city lives where place attachment is based on the economic representations of the visual environment and lack of it caused a happier gated community life. This indeed is not any means of a measurement of the city brand nor that is the intention of the present study however it creates an isolation in between the communities, a social and economic gap, and even potential political tensions within the different communities. Most importantly, it creates a generation of “neutral citizens” who are less interested and feel less encouraged to be involved in the wellbeing of an overall city.

This parallels Trueman *et al.* (2007)’s emphasis on the experience of cities as brands is very much likely to be influenced not just by its aspirations and achievements but also its communities as brand ambassadors. This perspective suggests a need of ‘brand story’ where people are encouraged to take ownership of a place or disown and disassociate where there is a negative image emphasis (Trueman and Cornelius, 2008).

The word ‘attachment’, in its core, suggests an initiative of a degree of attractiveness, appeal, aptness and/or emotional tie in order for the other part to be attached. In environmental psychology literature, place attachment is defined as a collection of emotional ties that are developed between place of residence and people (Giuliani, 2003; Lewicka, 2008, 2010; Low and Altman, 1992). In addition Florek (2010) stressed that attachment can result in many positive consequences for a city. In view of this, the present study is in line

with this perspective and revealed the differences between Leeds and Istanbul in terms of the possible outcomes of resident attachment and loyalty behaviour.

### **5.1.3 Implications for 'Sense of Place' in Place Brand Identity**

Escobar (2001) emphasised that places (as discussed above its difference from a 'space') are gifted with agency and personhood, and their organisation and dynamics relies on the processes through which individuals and social groups define themselves (Convery, Corsane and Davis, 2012). However, Castells (1997) emphasised the role of people's perceptions of places and stressed that such processes are integrated in 'people's sources of meaning and experience' (pg.6). In this perspective Cantrill and Senecah (2001) proposed the 'self in place' as a combination of sense of place and the environment, and Livingston, Bailey and Kearns (2008) drew attention to the two factors that leads to the lack of place attachment; crime and high population turnover due to their negative influence on trust.

The present study drew parallels this view with its call for an inside out approach. Indeed cities need outsider interest and investment for economic growth and this study, by no means, suggesting a view of isolation however it emphasises that the residents' meaning constructs and the subsequent processes are not something of a secondary but rather be a part of city branding. There is a growth in population in both cities yet how this has been perceived and interpreted differs significantly.

Due to its high population, and more significantly, its fast pace of growth, Istanbul residents have an overall negative sense of place. This was clear in the data presented, from the examples of crowd giving the sense of chaos and unsafe environment to the negative emphasis on the representation of places. This also indicated the nature of health and wellbeing of the citizens of the city. Whereas in Leeds, where the pace of growth is slower, which gave the residents the essential time to adapt and accept the changes.

Indeed it is important at this point to state that Leeds doesn't have the metropolitan status that Istanbul has, however what is central here is the impact of city behaviour on the resident and their perceptions and sense of place. This confirms Lewicka's (2005) argument that civil participation, place attachment and social cohesion are intimately linked and mutually reinforcing (Convery *et al.* 2012).

#### **5.1.4 Implications for 'Built Environment' on Place Brand Identity**

To this point the discussion focused on social interpretations of the urban by its residents (social norms), how residents relate themselves, feel satisfied (or dissatisfied) and took ownership of the city (place attachment) and how they make sense and interpret the city in relation to themselves (sense of place). This section will put the built environment in the focus and discuss the influence of it on the previous categories.

In an empirical study carried out by Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001), it was revealed that the residents develop place attachment towards places with different spatial ranges, which are house, neighbourhood and city. Whilst they emphasised the relationship between strength of attachment and scale of place, and reported a curvilinear relationship (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001), Shamai and Ilatov (2005)'s study did not find a clear pattern. It is useful to note at this point that, the present study's focus was not to measure whether there is a pattern or not. However, the study revealed that there is an association between scale of places and the residents' perception, attachment and behaviour. This wasn't in particular to how they are attached to their region and the city per se (in fact this was discussed in place attachment that Istanbul residents attachment is centred around the overall city whereas Leeds' residents' was more emphasised on a region (post code level) but the scale of the city and the built environment.

For instance the data from Istanbul revealed that the city's almost simultaneously occurring of vertical expansion and horizontal sprawling has a negative impact on residents' overall sense of place and attachment. To elaborate this further, in the case of present study, vertical expansion refers to the increasing number of tall buildings across the city (and this is not necessarily in one particular region such as financial district), while the term horizontal sprawling here refers to the extension of city borders. This was a

clear indication of the influences of the built environment on residents as Leeds data revealed similar emphasis but a more positive influence.

Both Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) agreed that places are the made up of meanings constructed out of lived experience. However what happens when the pace of this experience is faster than what the citizens of those places can accept and adapt? In an attempt to attract investment, residents and businesses, both cities are under the process of developing and expanding. What the study showed that whilst in Leeds this development is more sustainable with the improvement of transportation links and balancing the population; in Istanbul the lack of efficiency of transportation caused an unbalanced habitation by attracting more demand for central areas and unplanned zoning.

Lynch's (1960) empirical study on the cognitive images people have of the built environment that they inhabit revealed five key elements. These are *paths* as channels for movement; *edges* as borders; *districts* as texturally homogenous areas in cities; *nodes* as places with intense activity; and *landmarks* as points of reference (Lynch, 1960). Lang (1994), in support, suggested that the organisation of these elements pose significance for the visual organisation of cities. Furthermore, Lang (1994) elaborated on the importance of behaviour settings in urban spaces while describing them as " a unit of analysis that describes the functional core of urban design concern" (p.189) and, in relation, stressed that the basic objective of urban

design is to define what the public realm should be and how it interacts with private realm. Indeed the present study did not go into the exploration of public and private realms in cities, however the data highlighted the vitality of public realm and how the limitation of it influences the residents of the urban.

## **5.2 Implications for Practice**

Following on the discussion of implication on theory, this section discusses the implications for practice.

City branding has been employed by the national governmental bodies as well as local authorities in an attempt to attract new visitors, residents and businesses. However it is often seen as an easy promotional activity (Kavaratzis, 2004) and often carried out unstructured and rushed. Unlike in product branding, neither a customer satisfaction can be guaranteed to create a brand loyalty or attract more buyers, nor cities can have a traditional sense of branding department to serve across all its target audiences and stakeholders. In perspective of taking cities as multidimensional entities with unique spatial identities with several different stakeholders and audiences (Hospers, 2010), it is important to explore and understand the three concepts of identity, ownership and differentiation.

In support of this, the development of inside out approach to city branding suggests that we should not only start accepting that city branding is more



than just an assembly of destination images, but also it is home to many people and these people have strong opinions and, more importantly, have feelings and emotions for their home cities. As previously mentioned urban studies literature suggested that cities exist on two levels as internal and external. The present study aimed to shift the highly emphasised and saturated focus on the external stakeholders to the internal stakeholders of the city and residents in particular.

In this perspective, Place Brand Identity Mosaic allows a window into how residents make sense of their immediate environment and the city, how they create positive and negative meanings, and, more importantly how this is effecting their perception and behaviour. The present study also highlights the key elements in 'customer' satisfaction that were often overlooked previously from the intricacies of what might attracting new residents and businesses might mean for the existing residents and the role of existing social relations within the different groups of residents right down to the efficiency of urban infrastructure.

In order to create and reflect a healthy, positive image, the urban governance and other city brand management associations cannot leave this subject matter to the mere hands of urban planners and turn a blind eye to the influence of residents. The significance and the role of resident attachment were discussed in great detail during previous chapters.

The present research also has managerial implications by highlighting the differences between “gaining new customers” and “keeping existing customers happy” in the context of cities, in an attempt to emphasise the inside-out approach to city branding management. The concept of city branding has been quite popular and under an influx of several fields of study and practice; marketing, urban and environmental and even social studies being the stronger fields.

This research brought a new perspective to the existing city managements by highlighting a focal point of “keeping the existing customers happy” through investigating and understanding the role and significance of residents, their attachment to where they live and how this insight can be cooperated into creating and developing a sustainable city brand.

### **5.3 Limitations and further research**

This section discusses the limitations of the present research and proposes further research fields.

The key focus (and sole focus to a degree) for the sampling method was to find residents of Leeds and Istanbul. Other forms of qualitative research suggest a more strict and clear sample design, whereas the grounded theory is distinct in this sense by calling for a theoretical sampling. Whilst this flexibility in sample design provided a rich insight, the reality sometimes

posed temporary difficulties, such as an indefinite timeframe for data collection.

Furthermore, the traditional grounded theory (both Glaser and Strauss, despite their later differences) also suggests the researcher to enter into the research field with no preconception or a priori knowledge. In the case of this specific research, this aspect presented a problem for the researcher since herself is a resident of a city. In accordance, by adopting a constructivist view of grounded theory (which denies the systematic, rigid rules and processes of traditional approach and focuses on the theory construct) the researcher kept the literature to an informing only level.

One of the advantages of using grounded theory approach is that it put the researcher to the co-pilot seat and encourages the participants to reflect their own voices as much as possible. It also generated data that logically flows, and, in the case of constructivist grounded theory, enables a unique methodological framework for the researcher to construct a theory. However, at the same time, grounded theory methodology is complex, time consuming and calls for an immense intensity during the analysis stage. There are several software packages designed for analysis of qualitative data. The researcher too has experimented with NVIVO for Mac and found it to have limited for the purposes of grounded theory, especially the Mac version. As a result, after the initial coding, the researcher carried on the analysis manually.

The allowed the researcher to study the data closely and analyse it in greater detail.

Furthermore, the study focused on Leeds, UK and Istanbul, Turkey due to their social and cultural contrast and the researcher's access to sources in both cities and countries. Whilst the present study opened doors to new dimensions and perspectives on place branding, much further researcher needed to strengthen the subject field. As limited by time, sources and access, this study only scratched the surface on the residents' role and influence. In light of this, further research is needed to 1) study the place brand identity mosaic further under cross-cultural cases to strengthen the cultural context 2) potentially quantitatively test in order to measure the power game between the elements of the mosaic.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

The principal purpose of this particular study was to develop a theory that could explain the dynamics of concept of identity in the context of city branding. Analysing and coding the interviews provided a rich insight, and as a consequence, a number of categories emerged relating to the organic nature of place brand identity and their dynamic relationship. This enabled the researcher to construct the place brand identity mosaic, which makes a significant contribution to existing knowledge and practice. These are:

- 1- The present study bridges the gap in between the subject fields of branding (brand management) and urban studies by proposing an inside out approach to branding cities. As discussed in previous chapters, there is a dearth of empirical research in both subject fields regarding the significance of residents in branding cities. Studies into the concept of place branding are relatively new and currently this particular field of research is following a route into a deeper understanding of what constitutes a place brand identity. Whilst from a brand management study point of view, the present study represents a significant empirical exploration; in perspective of urban studies it introduces a viewpoint of branding to the design and planning of the urban.
- 2- It is the first ever attempt to explore the depths of the concept of place brand identity within urban spaces, in different cultures. The subject field of place brand identity has attracted empirical attention from tourism (under destination marketing), branding (mainly under brand identity and image management) and urban studies (under sense of place and attachment), however there are very few studies highlighting 1) the residents' role in place brand management, with particular exception of Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker (2013), 2) what elements might constitute a place brand identity, 3) the dynamics and the relationship of the elements that constitute a place brand identity, 4) the study of these relationships

under different cultural contexts. In regards to this, the present research fills the gap.

3- Adopting an inside out approach meant that the study shed a light on the meaning associations and disassociations of residents' self-concept and the city they live in. The study found that it is very important for residents relate themselves with the place they live in. An image based, top-down approach to city branding can result in residents' attempt to disassociate themselves from their residential city, which results in lack of pride and ownership, as well as an emphasises negative image reflected to outsiders. In reverse, residents' pride in their city can result in ownership and positive reflection of the "city brand image". In this regard, the present study highlighted that residents play a significant role in managing city brand through ownership and advocacy.

4- The deliberately contrasting nature of the two cases of Leeds and Istanbul (e.g. cultural and social differences) put the research in a more interesting and informing position. Whilst the present study never intended or attempted to find a set formula for a place brand identity that can be shaped and moulded into different geographies, it acts as a dictionary for the set of essential elements, their relationships and dynamics. The coding process reflected that the categories are similar in different cultural contexts however what was interesting and significant were the differences in emphasis

put in each category, which also revealed the shifts in emphasis in the dynamics of place brand identity mosaic under different cultures.

- 5- The emergent framework of place brand identity mosaic also challenges and stretches the idea of a set place brand identity that can be applied to multiple cities and cultures, in an attempt to create successful place brands. The present study confirms and is in a parallel line with the relatively new perspective of Kavaratzis and Hatch's (2013) adopting an identity-based approach to place brand theory. The primary prerequisite for a grounded theory study is to construct a theory where there is little known. In perspective of this, the present research endorses a deeper need to emphasise a more identity-based approach. It further challenges and stretches the dominating view of top-down, promotional and imagery based view by shifting the focus to a more inside-out, co-creation approach for a more sustainable place brand management. The concept of brand co-creation focuses on the significance of internal stakeholders (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004; Ind and Bjerke, 2007) and suggests that brands are not shaped and moulded by a multitude of managers but is a constant, organic process that is co-created collectively. This approach echoes the ideas within the branding literature, suggested by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004).

## APPENDICES



## Interview Guide

- Introduction

Age group, gender, occupation, education, residence length in the present city/ neighbourhood/ building

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How do the residents identify a place?

What is their perception of a place?

Immediate environment

The city they live in

The house? The street?

What is being understood when asked “place you live”?

(Ask to describe the place they live in (pay extra attention to any common themes)

Perceptions about the place they live in?

Characterisation of the place they live in and the city/ cues about identity?

Self-concept? Whys and hows?

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Where are they from? Birthplace? Place of residence? Any clarity or specification to this answer?

What made them stay longer here?

If they moved to another place- why? What did they know about the place?

Before and after comparisons? Any changes?

Any associations? Any disassociations? Why?

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What did they know about the place before moving in? and how?

How would they identify the current city?

Explore ideas on urban regeneration? The city living? Before and after?

## Interview Script Sample- Leeds

### Interview 1- Leeds

**Participant 1 (P1)- N.C. Male, aged 33.**

**Location, date and time: Brudenell Social Club, 16<sup>th</sup> June 2014, 11:45 am (46 mins 53 secs)**

Researcher (R): Thank you again for participating in this study... I will just start from the beginning... What is your occupation?

P1: Licensee.

R: Yeah... How long have you been living in this area?

P1: 33 years, going on 34 years.

R: Have you always lived here? Have you moved to anywhere else or?

P1: I have for a few years. Abroad. But not properly. That was a transient, work related but never uprooted and moved anywhere permanently.

R: Did you think about it?

P1: Not really. There has been times I have thought about going to university in different places or where I would be like but ermm it is pretty cool around here to be honest.

R: What makes it cool you would say?

P1: What makes it cool? What makes it... So... Hyde Park in particular, this area of Leeds, is that what you are asking?

R: Erm yes, if that is where you would like to start.

P1: If that is what you were asking about what makes it... Im not going on about cool was in like "yeah it is really cool", I am talking about it is actually good. If you are looking at this area in relation to transport, geography, you are about 2 miles from the city center. You can walk that in 20 mins, 25mins. You can get a bus into the city center in 10 mins. You can get a train in no time at all, you know. The airport is... 15 mins drive away. So you got every form of transport on your doorstep and it is a lot more connected than a city. Most other areas, not only Leeds but of the country because I don't think you would find a proximity as close to A- the city center but B-the airport and see, you know to get to places like Otley, Ilkley or even stuff like Golden Acre Park so you have got, kind of, you are in a great location, of say Hyde Park or Headingley to be able to get around and get to the city center and jump on a train to London or Manchester or anywhere else but then again you are not city center without the relative kind of life style not being able to walk straight out into a shopping mall or something like that. So you are leading a life, what you call..., a suburban, in a city that you can have all the benefits of living in a city but close by to it all. So you can detach from it when you need, living in a proper house with a garden, with space and not be bombarded by advertisements on the streets or... you know... cars going by the street 24 hours a day or something like that you can, but then again, you can have that if you need at any time.

R: Hmm

P1: So you got ideal kind of, you know, you turn left you go to Leeds city center, you turn right you go to the countryside. You need to get to the airport or you need to get anywhere, you have got it. You have got all kind of things that are ideally situated there. So not only for, you know, personal getting about or whatever you need to do for work that is ideally situated, for

entertainment and for going to stuff like cinema is round the corner, down the road or in town or, you know, for shops it is ideal.

Erm... You have got all the amenities you could ask for whether it be gyms or, you know... swimming pool or universities on your doorstep and libraries and... you know convenience stores and supermarkets whether it be big ones that are not in the city center which are pretty crap like Morrisons, all the supermarkets are pretty dire. If you got to the one in Kirkstall, you have got twice as much choice and much better products.

Erm... Similarly with, you know, all other kind of shops around that are here you can get to pretty fast which, you know, if you live in the city center, or if you live in further out, you have then got to compromise again something but the cost of living, you know, people weigh up and go “ oh well, the cost of living in Hyde Park, you know, 65 or 75 or whatever” but you just have to simply look at it and go if you gonna night out that is one...

Sorry.

*(Interview interrupted by one of the employees for 15 secs)*

Erm but what I mean is you can save that in relative erm if you look at a lot of the shops in the city center, if you just compare, you know, prices of little things like a loaf bread in the city center in the Tesco Express is cheaper here on Burley Road than it is in the city center so there is a few conveniences that are 5 pence, 10 pence cheaper that come in price wise against the city center that you mark up because usually, marking up, because of convenience and it is a place to go. Erm... But you know stuff like taxi rides... You know, if you are right in Horsforth and it is costing you more on a bus or in petrol or in convenience to get anywhere whereas you can walk to where you need from, say, where you live or where someone else lives or you can bike or you can get a train very cheaply you know.

R: Hmm... To go back to the beginning, when someone asks you “ where are you from?” what do you say?

P1: What do I say? Leeds.

R: Leeds?

P1: Yeah yeah. And then you know what area, you describe as Hyde Park or the university or some of the people know, it depends how familiar they are with the area you know. Some people, who you speak to, if you go on a holiday and you speak to them about Leeds, they haven't got a clue where either Headingley or various city centers are or whatever. You will speak to them and landmarks will go Headingley because of the cricket ground or something like that. So you gonna identify to different people in different ways. If they know the city, then obviously you say Hyde Park or wherever else, you know.

R: So if someone asks ermm, lets say... How would you identify Leeds?

P1: What do you mean?

R: If someone who doesn't know Leeds and asks...

P1: What is it like?

R: Yeah

P1: It has got everything you need of a big city. But it is also very compact. It is very easy to get around. It is, erm, it is relatively cheaper than if you want it to be, it is relatively cheaper than other big cities. Ermm... I don't know it has got a good scene overall, erm, in comparison to getting out to countryside and being able to be on the canal or be in. It is more beautiful city overall than a lot of other cities. Maybe not for architecture but for natural kind of links to get in places and doing things, you know. (short pause)

Even just surrounding areas, going to Wakefield and the sculpture park or go in to, you know, Harewood House or going to places like that. If you are in Manchester, you have got Greater Manchester and then you are having to look further out than that. It isn't just a 15 minute drive to Harewood House. It ain't just a 15 minute drive to Temple Newsam. It isn't just a, you know, 15 minute drive to Golden Acre Park and yet population wise, Leeds is certainly on a par with Manchester, you know. And yet if you are in there, it has got relatively most of the things you would want in Manchester. If you are talking about shopping, you know, yeah, you will find different things in different cities but people come to Leeds, it is the same, you know. We have got all the same chain stores at everywhere now so that is kind of identifying (?) any city center of a major one within the, you know, Leeds, Manchester or Birmingham, Glasgow, London... You can find all of them same things, so there is nothing really stand out within shopping or entertainment or culture. It is kinda that for me Leeds is an ideal size. It isn't too big and sprawling urbanness and culture wise it has got quite a varied artful culture in comparison to Sheffield or a few other cities, like Nottingham or something of a, just a smaller size but yeah...

R: This question might sound too general but what is your perception of a place you live in?

P1: Do you mean the city or the area?

R: Exactly. What id the first one that comes to your head?

P1: Err... Perception form whom though?

R: Your own perception of the place - (interrupted by P1)

P1: My own perception?

R: Yeah

P1: I say that it is pretty cool, it is alright. I think it is a quite decent place to live. I think there is everything you need. I think that, you know, for me people look at certain things in the area and then go "Oh this is a bit run down or that is a bit run down but they don't see the other, positive parts about it and, you know, I think there is everything you need here besides possibly if you are bringing up kids or anything like schools. But that's about the only thing.

R: Would you expand on the negatives and positives?

P1: Negatives. Ermm... The look of the area. The way it is run down. The way that its ermm, you know... That is because it has got a massive transient student population that come for, between 3 and say 8 years and stay here to do the degree and move on or stay here for a few years after; settle down and get a house and move to the, further out, to suburbs or to another city. So what you have got is a genuine kind of, you know, rolling stock of person that comes through whereas 90%, I don't know it is a lot more than that I would say, you know, 98% of other areas of the country never have that. They have a stagnant population that looks after its area, apart from, you know, run down council estates and you look at it around here and you go the main reason is simply because, it isn't even because, like council estates where people own it where it is run down, it is because of the population that live there. It is simple because the transient population don't own their houses and don't feel ownership over their space and therefore they use it and don't look after it and then they use the next space they live in and don't look after it so the pride taken in their space, personal isn't multiplied over the area but overall the feel of the area is pretty good. I don't feel unsafe around here, you know. Ermm it is, you know, I think there is a lot of perceptions that are challenged without any justification.

R: What about the positives?

P1: The positives, I think I have lined them out already in the previous thing. I think you have got a melting... What would you call... A melting pot of cultures where, you know, I went to school certainly round here and there



were certainly no real form of racism but what I'm talking about racism is it never even come in to the equation. It wasn't like, you know, it was, when I thought about, every school I have ever been to has had every form of, you know, type of person in it. And I think it is partly to do with university has been here and partly to do with, you know, you have got kind of two... (pause) How do I put it... You have got two kind of clashes of cultures and classes, all in a small area tightly knit so you have got some quite wealthy, big houses surrounding up towards Headingley and up in towards university and Clarendon Road and things like that where quite wealthy people still live because of the property limited in city center and also working at university or other buildings in Leeds. But then again you have got, you know, the local population and then again you have got the student population and you have got to think some of the student population will be international students who come from quite wealthy cultures and maybe bring, you know, their children or partners with them and therefore they get brought into the culture and when you have got so much diversity going on, it breaks down any barriers and therefore you have got a more diverse, wider range in area than you would, impossibly anywhere else, certainly in this city but anywhere else in... in..

You know, in other areas in UK because you look at a lot of the other areas and you will go, certainly in this city you go Harehills has a large Asian population and while Chappeltown has a large Afro-Caribbean population. You know, you can determine certain populations because certain communities migrate there and then you will find you know Caribbean food shops on Chappeltown Road and things like that you won't find in other areas. You wouldn't find that in Middleton and therefore Hyde Park is unique and you have got a Caribbean food shop at the end of the road. You have got Asian shops there. You have got all night takeaways but then you have got the niche bits that fit in around it. Or there within the mosques or within, you know, other kind of (pause)... not in religions and cultures but, you know, I mean is that fit in there.

R: You were talking about that, when you were going to school in (interrupted by P1)

P1: Yeah.

R: What do you think the transition has been? From what it was, lets say, 20 years ago to now?

P1: Well the area has got, the population locally has got a lot smaller as in like the transient population has got a lot smaller. Erm... So the population of kids in the area, I mean I look at it and I go; well you had Brudenell School when I went to school. Westfield, do you know, Rose Bank, erm, Spring Bank, erm St Michaels, Quarry Mount, Brudenell. You had a lot of primary schools and a lot of them are minimised, scaled all down. Brudenell School obviously shut down. And the... erm (pause) You know, they wouldn't have scaled down if there were the capacity but obviously, there hasn't been.

But I think what you are finding is... You are also finding a... (pause) I think this area in particular and Leeds as a whole is gonna be going through a turbulent time. Because it has relied heavily, erm... I mean I don't know, obviously the student population migrated to this area because of it been situated in between Carnegie, Headingley and the city center and 2 universities. And therefore you had, you know, the lecturers and the students who all live within the same area because of its ease to work and, you know, like I mentioned as it being here.

But the consideration of that is that you lost some of the local identity. But with the city council building countless, huge blocks for students, you now finding, you know, of self made things that relatively shelter for students with security and putting up complexes that you finding that a lot of the local houses are then obviously gonna become untenanted for a year or so and then the landlords are gonna have to obviously look at other kind of, relative, erm, forms of rent. And populations within that what you have to factor in is then; is the area then geared back up for:

A- Health

B- Schools, community centres everything else that have been scaled down over the last 10 years

And I think there is a real issue that my foresight on the area is that, the area has become a bit of a... (pause, slight concern and discomfort in the tone of voice) experiment ground for the city council and everything you kinda love about it as well, is kinda being meddled with. So I don't think you can ever change:

A- Where it is. How close it is gonna be to the city centre. How close it is gonna be to the, like the arteries of the canal and the motorway and the airport and getting to the countryside.

That is something that's never gonna change. But they're playing with is the physical make up of the area and the facilities that are there. So closing down schools, closing down, you know, the grammar school closing down a facility of sports hall, council then back handing planning permission to it over instead of giving it over to the community which would have been in any other area generally. And things like that.

There is less public amenities here and stuff like, you know, doctors because they have scaled them back because they are putting a student medical centre. But the student medical centre is not gonna go anywhere, it is only gonna be close to the big blocks but they have not thought about – if you build a big block and put loads of people in there that wasn't there before someone's gonna fill the houses so you are only multiplying the population in such a small area but you are not putting anything back into it. So I think that the area is gonna become, you know, there is gonna be a transitional period in the area which might be good and bring more studded culture but then, you know, looks after the area a little bit more. But then again, the other impending factor is obviously students don't wanna live in the big blocks after first year so they are still (emphasis on "still") gonna need somewhere to live. And they are still gonna look in this area because its where they know and because it is close to a- the city centre and the universities and all the other things they know.

So you still have that conundrum, so I think that from someone who is local, the area and when you go back to schools and that was your main point and everything else, I think we are in a tricky few years that, you know, are unknown because of a lack of foresight and foreplanning overall in a city. I think Hyde Park is certainly the area that has had less investment than any other areas in comparison to Headingley and Horsforth and you know other areas. Massively less.

R: What if we talk about, lets say the identity of Hyde Park. How, even the simplest concepts of how the streets and houses were, say 10 years ago and what it is now in terms of the feel of the place. The sense of place.

P1: Erm... I Think the area was- I wouldn't say 10 years ago, I'd say 10 years ago the area was pretty much crap. It was run down a lot. Certainly a lot more than what it is now. Because you had the changeover over the static breadline, working class population still here that have kinda moved. A lot of the people I know up just past Headingley to Queens Wood and places like that and out towards Kirkstall way so what you've got is now more of a student community in here. Although you have got, you know, the lads that don't care and whatever else, you then have got, you know, part of a population that kinda looks after Leeds University green streets. They have existed 10 years ago and the council then thought a little bit more about, you know, the July changing over days (referring to the period where students/tenants move out for the summer and new tenants/students move in) that no one thought about, so you have less of a convivial than you have every other year.

So I think there is areas that have certainly improved over time in comparison to 10 years ago but, you know, 20 years ago- if you are talking about 20 years ago, you'd have gone along the Harolds 20 years ago, there were shops on the several of the corners that you went across and, you know, the area had a lot more bustling about it. It wasn't just a sea of takeaways. They were genuinely kind of, you know, a community that you might find in other areas. Partly that is you know internet and, thing being a buy, and mail going

faster and post office shutting down and butchers shutting down and things like that. You can buy major supermarkets and explosion of that and technological advancements. But overall, I think, you know, 20 years ago, the area were a lot cleaner, a lot more pride taken in 20 years ago. And I think that's, you know, that is being blinded by property development, landlords buying up houses and using them for commercial lets, rather than caring about them. But as I say, I think there will be a change in that at some point.

R: Erm, you mentioned the community feel, and that it was cleaner 10, 20 years ago. What would you, or do you exactly mean? Or could you expand more on that community feel?

P1: I cant explain it. (short pause, finding it slightly challenging to explain). You walk down the streets here and I can just explain like, if I walk out of here and walk right, there is some houses and the pavement stones are a bit uprooted a little bit. And the bin yards are overflowing because, you know, where you would have back to back house, you'd have 2 or 3 people living in it. You have now got 4 or 5, so the waste is unmanageable and because they don't care about, you know, what is thrown out, the litter on the floor- just the little things you go, the council don't care about the area as much, you know, you kinda look around here, certainly and you go "where is the bedding plants? Where is the trees across there? When have they been trimmed and why are they growing up though the roots and the pavement and why is the pavement never been-" You know, you look around here and you look at the pavements and you go " why they have never been re-tarmaced and why the roads are a bit crap and why is this and the other?" you know, the lack of investment in this area is minimal. And half of it is to do with the council not getting the tax back because the students don't pay on a whole. Yeah but there is the massive population that do pay that are still here that aren't students live around here. You know, they get short changed on what they are paying which should be equivocal to other areas because it shouldn't be that, you just go to the university and, you know, take off that area and then don't pay back in when you move to your nice suburb area later on in life. I

believe that some of that money should go back into the area that gave you life and the opportunity to be where you are there.

So I think that this partly that, the lack of investment from certainly the city council and it is partly one of them that if something is not up kept and looked after, people around it don't feel proud of it and want full of it and therefore they take less interest, I think that's one of the efforts in it.

R: Is there anything you associate yourself with the area, with the local area?

P1: Anything that I associate myself with?

R: Or disassociate?

P1: Erm, disassociate- the small minority of, you know, wherever you gonna get a massive amount of people, you are always gonna get a small amount of minority whom will feed of them people in a criminal activity way. Now- all the statistics and this and that and the other are high for such a small postcode, yet the population is a lot bigger and therefore you are going to get a lot more crime but the crime is not relative per person, per head it is a lot smaller than other areas of this city of anywhere else. So that doesn't mean that it is more dangerous whatever else place. What I'd say is that certainly in the last 10 years noticing young people, the culture of recreational drugs within students has exploded, you know. I think that is something that is not unique to this area but is unique, is just prevalent all over the UK with, you know, recreational drugs it has become scene as whereas seen as going out and having, you know, five pints of is dangerous, a bit of this and getting a bit airy, you know, you go out and take whatever, whatever dance clubs in Leeds or whatever it is, the norm to go out and take that. And then there is obviously an underground economy in that, that has to be fuelled, that ahs to be- someone's gotta do it and if that person is not doing it, someone else will step in to it. Because you know, students' party lifestyle but also with it being close to lots of other areas, it is easy to nip in and nip out, and, you know, if there is a lot more people in demand there, it is equitable. So that's what I'd like to disassociate with myself in this area, is that kind of perception but it

isn't really real because it isn't relative to you, you know, the 90 percent of the people that will go out on a Saturday night who have had a hard week at work and take fucking ket (ketamine) or MDMA or few pills or whatever else or coke or-that's the same for loads of people who deal with drug testing in every work. I think it is just because it is multiplied because you've got people living on top of each other, with more free time and disposable income that obviously they can do that more often. So, I think that's one of the things that I would disassociate as perception of people upon certain areas and students and people live there.

R: What about association?

P1: Association with the area?

R: Yeah

P1: Like I said, there is a lot of good things and good people here, you know. And I think the area is certainly born and done more for the city than any other area. So you look at the association with the city, you'd say that mostly the economy is driven from or rooted from this area as in you could say yeah or the kind of financial centre it is in Leeds city centre. But you look at most of the people work there, and they are all probably A: come through university or B: lived in this area at some point potentially to, you know, get a part when they were in college in there or you know, some form of education to get where they are. Certainly the higher level where the money goes around, you know. But I think that's one of the key kinda things that you'd go. Not already the economy when you look at it, like I said not in music, not in venues but when you look at the bands that have come out of it, out of Leeds, every single one that has ever been successful that has come out of Hyde Park, you know. If you from the Gang of Four to sisters of Mercy and Kaiser Chiefs and related bands that are around from Leeds or Alt-J or anything else that has been over the years, you know... Soft Cell or anything else, they've all worked in this area, been in this area, been to university here.

So the kind of perception of culture of Leeds from the outside if you look at it from musically as a goth area, you know, Leeds is a city of goths, that's come from Hyde Park in the late 80s and stuff like that, early 80s. If you look at it from Leeds', you know, pop music and the late 90s, 2000s you are looking at Kaiser Chiefs and things like that. Pigeon Detectives, you talking, because they are from around here. If you are looking at various other things, the people who have gone on to make the stamp on stuff like Reds Barbeque its going out there, they were students that lived in Hyde Park, you know. People who've gone on to do other things in the city or who have come from this area and even stuff like, you know, celebrities, not really loaded upon Jimmy Saville and stuff grew up around here.

So you've always had this area and it is the main catalyst from, you know... You look at how did, Black Flag... What is it called?... My mind has gone blank... (pause) What is it called?... The guy from Black flag... (pause) My mind has gone blank and it is annoying me... (searching on Google- long pause)... Henry Rollins. So people like Henry Rollins came to live in Leeds, you know. He lived in the Harolds, erm... You know, the artists come and live in Leeds, Damien Hirst, they all lived within these postcodes. Everybody that you could make out that has some kind of any recognition or any brought any reputation to the city has also somehow come through this postcode and that simply because it is the one area that is the meeting place of all minds and cultures and things on the street that lead to a more open, thoughtful way of life and I think that is the main kind of, you know, catalyst of wider areas because it is more open to things and it breeds more innovation, more entrepreneurial kind of an enterprise than other areas that are suburban life; get up-go to work-follow a routine and they don't read the same people apart from in the bars and or when they are socialising which isn't a relatively, you know, active state so, therefore, it doesn't lead to the same kind of things whereas you know education certainly does and it leads to community groups and things like that.



R: Are you, as in an individual living in here, all their lives, are you involved in or do you have interactions with the area or the city in terms of, lets say, any community projects you take in or anything similar?

P1: How do you mean?

R: I don't know it could be from a very simple Neighbourhood watch to any other community projects?

P1: There are various bits that I have taken part in the past such as the Unity Day, HP Sauce... Loads of, you know, there is a thing called the community plan going on where sections of the city been divided up into who owns what area, which community owns what area in Hyde Park and one of the scrutiny areas that's either in Headingley or over boundaries and things like that and who owns what bits of the area and I have ben asked to be on that panel. There is, you know, over time, there is bits that I have been on around here and helped out with such as Green Streets and where we have been a host for, you know, clothes swaps and stuff like that to help, you know, keep the area efficient but like HP Sauce; volunteering for them where they were community housing association who effectively gave people a house but they employed those people to go up and maintain the houses on their roster so it was kind of a self sufficient housing association where they got paid, they got paid a wage to maintain other people's houses and so they have become kinda house maintenance but also a housing association at the same time so it was about training people skills and you know, other things and the seagulls paint place come out of somebody who, which is like a recycled paint manufacturer in Leeds who came out of somebody working at that. So, there is loads of different community projects that happened and such as Unity Day that happen every year that have kind of come out of it and still lent this area to have a community...

R: Talking about the borders of Hyde Park with, or with other areas you have just mentioned that there is a dispute in between where Hyde Park ends and Headingley starts- (P1 phone rings)

P1: Sorry can I take this call?

(Phone talk at the background)

Sorry what were you on about?

R: How would you... Where do you think Hyde Park ends and, I don't know, Headingley starts? Is there any landmarks – (interrupted by P1)

P1: There is no boundaries. I think Cardigan Road is... The thing is Cardigan Road is a little bit of a dividing boundary between; there is a point on Cardigan Road that you go up and one side of it to the right is certainly Hyde Park, would I say, up until the junction with Victoria Road- is definitely Hyde Park on the right. To the left you would say it is kinda Burley and Burley Park on the side of the Co-op but the other side would be Hyde Park. And then if you go north of that towards the cricket stadium is kinda Headingley so, you know, the manors in Headingley and things like that and yet you've got places if you go half way up Buckingham Road- I mean not Buckingham Road but if you go up Victoria Road and turn left, you would say that somewhere along there it turns back into Hyde Park towards Hyde Park corner. So there isn't a clear defining boundary. There is just areas that people perceive as Headignley or Hyde Park or whatever. Hyde Park isn't even an actual postcode, it is university ward basically. So, everyone is under Headingley or in university ward technically.

R: That's what I wanted to ask; is there a – (interrupted by P1)

P1: Hyde Park isn't a Park, it is Woodhouse Moor.

R: Is there a feel of it and if so what would be that feel of Hyde Park? Or is there like a landmark or historical reference that you as an individual would, kind of, separate the areas?

P1: What do you mean? Explain a bit further

R: Like you just said " up the Cardigan Road towards the left it is Headingley and towards right it is Hyde Park- what makes you say that? I mean what is that- (interrupted)

P1: What makes you say that?

R: Is it the feel of the place or is it the- is there a landmark that you associate with the area?

P1: If you look at Burley Park, Burley Park is Burley Park that's what it is called. That side of the road is kind of Burley Park. And the train station is at that side of the road. If you go up the hill, you have got Headingley stadium so there is named landmarks that make it be that area rather than going "that is Headingley". There is nothing that signals out that house or that statue or anything else. There is things that like, you say, Headingley or Hyde Park corner or, you know, Hyde Park Road or the university. And the university is a unique one because where is the university? Is the university in city centre? Is it in Hyde Park? It is in neither really, it is in between, it is no man's land so you kinda go "where is that?" "where does the boundary from?" You'd say the boundary between Hyde Park and Woodhouse is kind of is at Hyde Park corner, that junction there where you would go; alright if you go left at Hyde Park corner and go down Woodhouse Street, that is Woodhouse. Yet if you are on the right side of the road and Woodhouse Moor, you are at Hyde Park and yet Hyde Park is at the opposite side of the road. So what people know as Hyde Park is where Woodhouse Moor is and what Hyde Park is a gravelled land. People got it back to front and yet the area in people's heads is kinda Woodhouse Moor known as Hyde Park because of the street names, because of, there is a Hyde Park Pub and whatever else so there is-. It is more about I'd say more about street names and naming of things than what it is, actual landmarks. Well they are landmarks.

R: Anything you would like to add to finish off?

P1: Erm... No. It is a pretty cool area.

## **Interview 6- Leeds**

**Participant 6 (P6). J. W. Female. Aged 31. Occupation: Full time PhD student**

**Location, date and time: Leeds University, Parkinsons Building, 20<sup>th</sup> August 2014, 11.05 am (41 mins 23 secs)**

R: well thank you for participating and your time. The structure is that I will start with the introduction and I will probably ask you a bit about yourself, and then I will move on to where you live and how you feel about where you live. The introduction will be about you: age, occupation and so on and then the rest will follow really.

P6: Yeah all good, that's fine. Well I'm 31, I'm just finishing up a PhD at Leeds University. I have lived in Hyde Park since I was 20 years old so I was an undergraduate student, here at Leeds. And I moved in in my second year in my first shared house. Well it was in Burley, just by the Co-op. I sort of stayed in Hyde Park more or less ever since. So I graduated and stayed in the area. I worked, I went travelling and ended up coming back to Leeds because at the time my boyfriend was here, by that time it was home. And then when I was in my late 20s, mid 20s, I did my MA here and then stayed here for the PhD. So, even though I have lived in Cambodia for, sort of, in total for about two and a half years, I have always kept coming back to sort of Leeds, and to that area of Leeds. So I have lived there, for almost, 11 years.

R: Are you from Leeds originally?

P6: No, I'm originally from Bedford, which is near Cambridge.

R: What was the main reason in the beginning, for the move? Was it just purely university?

P6: It was the university, yeah.

R: Did you have any other options or?

P6: I did. I really was quite relaxed when I chose my universities. I didn't do as much research as maybe some people do. I don't know, my boyfriend when I was in teens, his older brother lived here. We came to visit him and I had a good time in the city, and the university was good. It was probably the best university I applied for. So when I was offered a place, pretty good! But I didn't really know much about Leeds, either as a city or university until I came. It was just really good luck that the university was good and I obviously really loved the course because I stayed for so long to keep studying more. And I love the city as well. So it was more luck than research to be honest.

R: When you say that "you loved the city", what was it that you love?

P6: I don't know. I grew up in kind of a small town and the closest city was probably London where I used to go out as a teenager. I thought I love London but I don't want to live there. It is too sprawling, you know if you got friends live there, they live in another area of London and you send an hour just going to visit them. It is not as easy as in social life compared to somewhere like Leeds. I think Leeds is just a great size, it is kind of big enough that lots going on but not so big that it loses that community sort of feel to it, so all your friends live in a very close kind of close proximity. And I love the fact that it is easy to get to other cities from Leeds because it is quite central in the country. And I love being able to go to the countryside, you know, it is 20 minutes and you are in the Dales.

R: When you say, when you just briefly compared London and Leeds, the two things you have mentioned that are too big and you don't want to, or well the fact that Leeds is not too big, what kind of an impact would it have if it

was a bigger city or it may even sound like a daft question but what do you mean by big?

P6: I think probably what I mean is friends of mine who live in London, because they live in different parts of London, I think you just have to design your social life in a very, very different way. So, it requires more advanced planning if you want to be up and do stuff. If you had a really crap day at work and you just wanna go for a drink and it is not the impression I get from friends is not as always easy to organise that kind of thing as it would be in somewhere like Leeds where people live 15 minutes down the road so you kind of "do you want to go for a drink later? So let's meet at eight o'clock".

I think in London it requires a bit more planning unless you are fortunate enough and made a community of friends in your neighbourhood. I think that's what I mean and I think that's something, that's just what I heard friends tell me.

R: How long have you been living in the, say, the area, the postcode?

P6: LS6 postcode... So I moved here... when I was a student, I was in LS4, so I have been living in LS6 for 9 years.

R: Is it the same house or?

P6: No, no. I have moved in lots of houses.

R: What about the house you live in now?

P6: The house I live in now, I have been since January and it is a one bed flat and it is long the edge of the park on Hyde Park Road.

R: Could you just briefly describe the neighbourhood?

P6: Okay. Well... the neighbourhood of LS6, I guess it is...

R: ... Where you live

P6: Particular kind of area?

R: Yeah.

P6: I guess it is predominantly students along that road that I'm on, my immediate back road. For example, I live in a block of flats and I'm the only person who is a student and even though I'm a student, I'm not a typical, you know undergrad student, so it is kind of mixed in my building, kind of older people. And then you get people like me I suppose, similar, who are kind of a bit older but still live in an area that once were students but not anymore.

So I guess that is the kind of immediate area around my house that is kind of different. I used to live down in Harolds, in Thornvilles, the back to backs and I think that was even more... That had even more had a diverse feeling; there was more families I think compared to where I am now.

R: When you say studenty feel and family feel, could you expand on that please?

P6: I suppose where I lived before, in the sort of back to back housing, there were kids playing on the street, and just feel more family life going on whereas- I suppose it is still in my area a bit- but where I am, no. Because I'm on the main road, I guess it just feels a bit more student in terms of... and they (students) have moved out so I'm thinking all the mess they have left. I don't know... Fewer children around.

R: And does that give any particular feeling that it is a family feel or student feel, if a place feels like student or with more families? Any meaning associated to that?

P6: Hmm, I don't think so. I mean no. Yeah... no. I don't view one as better or worse. I think the whole area itself; wherever I lived it has always had a mix of families and students. I guess depending on whether you are on a main road or not. Depends on whether the families are more visible or not and I think it has always pissed me off to an extent that often students forget that they are not living in halls of residence and there is this diverse community of people are around. That's always got on my nerves a little bit. Especially when I had a job, I had to get up early in the morning and they were partying all night.

R: I know the feeling... if I ask you , if you could describe me where you are from and where you live now? Because you said you are from a small town and so... How would you go with that?

P6: Well the town I grew up in was incredibly diverse. I think it is one of the most ethnically diverse places outside London and Birmingham. So in terms of that sort of ethnic diversity Leeds feels quite similar to where I grew up. In terms of what is going on culturally, it is massively... There is a massive sort of contrast between I grew up and in Leeds. There is so much going on in LS6 itself I think.

R: What do you mean by "so much going on"?

P6: Live music, gigs, venues for gigs because in the town I grew up there was only one venue for live music which was not bad but obviously there is a lot more going on in Leeds. There is a lot more people doing things in Leeds. Not so much now but when I was in my 20s, my friends were putting on gigs in different places, organising club nights. There was more artistic stuff



happening. Hyde Park Picture House... it just seems a bit more of an independent sort of scene in music, film, art, kind of everything...

R: And does that mean anything to you?

P6: Well yeah, I guess that's what I'm kind of into and, well, I have always been into and then I suppose it is how much of living in here has made me enjoyed even more. How different would have been if I was living in somewhere else but yeah that's what I have always been into when I was growing up. It is just there was nowhere to go to experience.

R: Yeah, I guess it just made it easier for you, to your social life as well, that everything was in one place.

P6: Yes. Yes. One scene of kids who were into alternative stuff and we all stuck together, in many ways. I talked about there were so much to go in Leeds, there is a certain laziness to living next door to somewhere like the Brudenell and the Hyde Park Picture House for example. You know, I say there is lots of gig venues but actually I don't go to any of them except the Brudenell. I rarely go anywhere so it is kind of weird, there is always stuff to do but Brudenell has got this monopoly.

R: Just to kind of give a brief idea about defining and identifying a place, so people often define a certain, well it is more associated with their own ideas whereas when you identify a place, it is more external to the individual, so if I ask you to define and identify where you live...

P6: So remind me again, defining is something within you, my own sort of personal definition and...

R: Defining would be more external to you and yeah, it will be, if we really go deep down something like existence outside...

P6: Yeah. Okay. So if I was to define this area, where I live, my own sort of definition.

R: Yeah, that's the right word, your own definition

P6: Rather than how other people might perceive...

R: Yeah

P6: So how I would define... Very much focused around music, around people who have that sort of, I don't know, that do-it-yourself kind of spirit. There is that kind of attitude and that is how I would define the area, and actually maybe not just music but lots of other different things as well. Something like Unity Day. That's how people come together and make something good happen out of something that was actually quite bad, you know, the sort of racial tensions that was years ago.

So, that's how I would, kind of, define the area broadly. There is a community feel to it. I wonder whether- if still the area hasn't changed since I lived here. I think there is probably more students. It is hard to tell because my perceptions have changed, as I got older but my perception as it is, there are more students there who maybe don't correspond to that sort of alternative kind of world and maybe that's changing the dynamic of the area.

I don't know maybe that's perception but it could just be because I'm getting older. When I started going to Brudenell, it was just old men and now it is like a youth club type of thing, where everyone goes. It has changed a lot. From an outsider's perspective, I think... I don't know... The associations it has... I

guess a lot of it has come from the music now, because the Brudenell seems to be such kind of a hub. So people from outside of Leeds where lots of musicians live. But I think it has also got that reputation for, sort of, student life; being messy, noisy and that kind of thing. That's how I would imagine people from outside of here would think.

R: If you were to, I know all these questions sound similar but, if you were to describe me where live or to someone who hasn't been to this place, how would you describe?

P6: So, it is mostly old, kind of, Victorian housing. I think Victorian, so you have these little, tiny back-to-backs and its one of the last places in the UK that still has its back-to-backs. They didn't knock them down in some clearances. And then you have the bigger houses. I think the architecture, well not the architecture but the planning of it; the layout of it is very specific. The fact that it is sort of on that hill, you come down and there is a big open hill. And then you come down on to these slightly airless, narrow streets. It is very kind of unique sort of planning. You know, I think it makes it quite bizarre that all of these houses are tightly compacted together. Then you have this mix of young students who, kind of, come here to live for nine months, ten months leave a massive great mass and leave during the summer and then come back again.

The community is very influx in that way. There are a lot of people who wouldn't class themselves as residents who maybe don't feel that they have a stake in the area in anyway. So maybe they don't feel compelled to vote or get involved in the area in some way because it is quite a transient element to the community. But then you have people who are, sort of still young but have stayed in the area but are not students anymore. But maybe stayed there because they have found a community there and stay in the community and maybe make stuff happen in the community and get involved in stuff in the area and less transient. Then you have the sort of older, generally white,

working class families who live in the area. And then you have, sort of, populations of second or third generation immigrants from South India or this sort of Indian subcontinent.

And that is kind of left its mark on the area. You have got the mosque and you have got few mosques and they changed the identity of the area, so it is kind of a real mix of different communities. I'd like to think more or less they kind of are happily side by side, I don't know, that is certainly the sort of feel.

R: Have you recently considered moving to another place?

P6: Yes.

R: Is it within the same city or within Leeds or?

P6: No, no. I have been looking to leave Leeds because I am about to finish my PhD and I have been here for a long time, and I think I'm probably ready to live somewhere else and look at jobs and stuff somewhere else.

R: Is it because there are no jobs in here or?

P6: No... I think it is partly because no jobs are here that I want to do specifically. Partly because I have been at Leeds Uni for my whole academic career and it would be good to go somewhere else career wise. And just a change of scene I think, you know, I was here for my 20s so it would be a good idea to somewhere else just for a change.

R: And this might sound like a personal question and feel free to decline but "change of environment", what does that- what do you mean by that exactly?

Or maybe you could summarise it? Is it personal reasons or simply because you want to see different things or?

P6: I think it is partly because I want to see different things. I don't have a particular issue with the life here in Leeds but I think it would be nice to experience to live in another city. Also because I spent so much time living in Southeast Asia and I kind of want to go back. I miss some of the things about there. It is such a radically different place to live compared to Leeds. There is no point in comparing between the two because they are just so different. It is hard to make even comparison or contrast but you know there is so much I miss about that. And I feel ready and I'm getting older. I'm not really interested in all night parties and stuff like that as much as I used to be. There is that element of things as well. There is a different lifestyle.

## Interview Sample Scripts- Istanbul

Q: What's your age group?

A: 40-50

Q: Profession?

A: Architect

Q: Education Level?

A: Graduate school

Q: Where do you live?

A: Gayrettepe, In the European side of Istanbul.

Q: How long have you been living there?

A: Thinking as a region, I've been living there for 10 years.

Q: 10 years in the same apartment?

A: No in the same area.

Q: And how about in the same apartment?

A: 3 years.

Q: How do you describe a place? How would you describe the place you live in to me?

A: You're not asking as an address description do you?

Q: No, as the physical environment?

A: Gayrettepe is like a rescued zone within a very busy downtown area.

That's why we prefer it. We prefer to live downtown but in a quiet area. It's one of the places detached from the movement of the downtown area.

Istanbul has that kind of places and we think that Gayrettepe is one of them.

Even though that neighborhood feeling as related to the people doesn't exist, we chose there because it exists as related to the physical environment.

That's our main reason to prefer it and the main reason we enjoy it. But it's just a physical reminder. Not the relations.

Q: How would you describe the 'quiet'?

A: When I look out from the balcony or sit in the living room, I can see trees, I can see around, I can see a little of the horizon line which is very important to me. Or having a park nearby is important. And it's not somewhere having a very busy traffic, that's what I mean by quiet. You can sometimes hear a

couple of birds singing.

Q: These are important features to you. Why are these important and what makes them important to you?

A: As to why, Istanbul is a metropolis and life goes on in a high performance run-around, the place I live should provide an opposite pole by being quiet. When I get home, it's important to me to be able to get out of that rhythm. It relaxes me. It makes me feel like I've left the speed and chaos of the city behind. What makes these important to me... I'd repeat the same things, you can think of these are almost the same reasons.

Q: Would the same features be important to you if you lived alone or are these important because of your family life? Or is this irrelevant?

A: I can't say yes or no to this question –if I lived alone etc. In earlier life, I lived in places where there's heavy traffic. It's probably related to age, and having kids. You prefer a quieter life as your inner rhythm gets slower. I actually like being downtown, where life is speedy but the place I live should be a little quieter. However it should be near downtown, that's an indispensable criterion for me.

Q: Why is being downtown so important?

A: It is important because, I love Istanbul very much and I think it has given me so much about personal improvement. So being away from the downtown area feels like being away from Istanbul to me. Going outside the historical peninsula, or going to newly built districts, which I do because of my work, feels like leaving Istanbul. I don't see those places as Istanbul but maybe Kocaeli, Tekirdag, etc. Or a new city consisting of building complexes. If I lived there, I wouldn't feel like I'm living in Istanbul, and I love living in Istanbul. I can't leave downtown.

Q: What does living in Istanbul mean to you?

A: Living in Istanbul for me, means 'me'. As I said earlier, between 1989 and 1994, my university years, the years that I became someone else, everything happened in Istanbul, I met people here. Not only because of Istanbul of course, but because of those people. But you have to love this city first, before it gives you back anything. Its spring, its autumn. Or, knowing that something is there, even if it's out of your reach. It's an interaction. To know how to love this city when you smell the different scents of autumn, or when

you hear the horn of a ferry... This is what's important to me, I live these things and I think that I can still carry on this communication. I listen to Istanbul and naturally love it.

Q: So you 'feel' Istanbul.

A: Of course. When you can't feel it, being here is not different than being in, say, Kocaeli. Or if you talk about the sea, you can see the sea somewhere else but that communication is important.

Q: We talked about how you describe a place. How do you perceive a place? If we define describing with things that are outside of us, perception would be more about us. How do you perceive a new place?

A: When I go to some place else, I have two different perceptions. One of them is professional, I have a reflex perception that analyzes the buildings, the infrastructure etc.

Q: Could you expand?

A: I can exemplify. As I said earlier, there are new settlements in Istanbul such as Halkali. I perceive these as neighborhoods built from similar buildings, wide avenues, parks that people don't go to, neighborhoods that people don't leave their homes, and I don't find them sympathetic. One of the things I like and miss is that people living in the streets and connect with each other because I grew up in such a place and that's why I'm critical of these places. However, I went to Hendek, a district close to Istanbul and everybody was on the streets, relations are going on, there's a big sycamore tree on the street, people are communicating and you can feel it. It's more peaceful and attractive for me.

Q: Why is it more peaceful or enjoyable?

A: There are people, there's life on the street. When you make eye contact with people or shopkeepers, they smile at you, you can say hello. In the big city, these relations don't exist very much. Or people can show you an extra attention if they realize you're a stranger. I think the real criteria is that the life is cleaner there, the communication with the people –not necessarily a verbal one-, their relation with the district and your relation, there being a movement... That's important to me when perceiving a place. A very luxurious place doesn't seem very attractive to me. My general perception is about the life in that place, or whether the place gives people the opportunity



to live. That's actually a professional point of view but, it's generally like that for me. If it's stopping, it doesn't mean anything to me.

Q: Let's say that there's a very well designed place, a planned neighborhood. If those dynamical relations do not exist...

A: It would not mean anything to me. There are places we call shanties, you can see one out there near us. A little neighborhood there is more attractive to me. Even if the architecture, the infrastructure, the spatial organization are ideal, it's more important to belong there, to live that place along with others like you. If it's not like that, I wouldn't want to be there. It's like the comparison between going to a very luxurious restaurant and eating alone and having a beer in the back alleys of Beyoglu with other people, it's this kind of relationship.

Q: Is the place you live like this?

A: Are you asking about where I live?

Q: Yes

A: Actually not enough. The things I'm talking about are things I miss, things I want around me but for it to be like that, there must be a lot of people thinking like you but, at least knowing the faces of the butcher, the grocer etc. around the place you live, or being able to send your kid to the park alone since people know him. In that sense, there's a limited living relationship. As I said, it being an open space and... it's actually you who create the relationship. Instead of going to a supermarket, shopping at the drugstore as much as I can, I try to create that relationship. Or instead of buying the meat from the supermarket,, I go to the butcher and try to buy meat from there just to create a dialogue. I don't have a relationship that I can say to the butcher that I'll pay later as it was in our childhood, but at least we have at least a little dialogue which is enjoyable.

Q: Are you from Istanbul originally?

A: No, I'm from Denizli.

Q: Could you talk to me about Denizli, the place you've grown up.

A: I came here when I was 19 years old but I can talk about what it was before then. I grew up on the streets, and by that I mean, our house was in one of peripheral districts of Denizli because it was near our village and, if there's a house here, there are 4-5 empty plots and another house after that,

it was really spaced and when we came home, we would be on the streets. In summer, we ate our lunch as sandwiches on the streets. It was more natural, there were trees, farms, vegetable fields, orchards around until a certain age. For example, after seeing Robinson Crusoe on TV on Sunday, we would walk for a couple of kilometers and go to the riverside to recreate the same environment for ourselves, this was possible when I was growing up. The relationships that I miss that I was talking about were very much alive, you could enter the neighbor's house and get out after using his/her toilet you could trust anyone, everyone knew you and you knew everyone. We would steal sodas from the soda car and drink as a child. It's not possible anymore around here. It's actually true that I look back with yearning. Expecting this here is not actually right but that's how my childhood was. I was feeling very secure, we could leave our door open, we would go in and out, everyone was aware of every problem, such as "someone's ill at that house" etc, everyone knew everything about each other and help and converse with each other. Of course, now I understand this better, I couldn't see this then of course. We were relaxed, there were no anxieties.

Q: And there are anxieties now?

A: Of course there are. Not for myself but for my child because I think that the rhythm, expectations and goals of this life are unnecessarily high. Everyone grows up in a competitive environment. The new generations are growing up aiming for things that shouldn't be aimed for. We were lucky enough to stay out of this. We're aware from this but I'm actually concerned about how aware about this we are. And politically speaking a little, it seems like the idealized life is not evolving in the direction I'd prefer. I have concerns for the country I'm living in about these but these are not for myself.

Q: Could you expand on these anxieties? Politically or based on lifestyle?

A: My greatest concern is that the following generations are becoming very consumerist people and they tend to emphasize their own individual interests. Everyone is struggling to reach their personal happiness and they don't have any concern about what goes on around them. I think they're being raised that way without being aware of it, because the goals being offered them are always based on money and consumption: you should study at the best schools, you should live in the best house, you should have the best car, you

should wear designer shoes... I'm concerned that the coming generation is being raised with these priorities. And my current problem is to find a way to minimize this for my child. Politically, the dominant political view is not ours and I observe that the coming generation will be more conservative, rather than more modern, and that makes me anxious for the future of my child, that's my biggest anxiety.

Q: Are there positive or negative features of the place you live in that you associate with yourself? What are they? Physical or sentimental?

A: There are many positive things here, whenever I want to see them, because I love Istanbul and I have very good friends here, even though we can't meet as much as we used to. Although the dynamism of the city bothers us sometimes, that dynamism is also a source of pleasure. As long as it's under my control, as long as I can go to a place that I enjoy, any place in this city may give me pleasure. As I said earlier, crossing over on a ferry may make me happy or, I don't know, walking in Galata, or seeing the people connect while I walk through a shanty alley, these are things that may make me happy. I'm not after very big pleasures in the city, I don't expect these. About the negative side, the cosmopolitan structure is sometimes bothersome, or the traffic problem. One of the greatest negativities about the space we live in is security. Maybe not for myself... actually even for myself, such as the problems I go through in the traffic but more so for our children. I always ask this question: How old should my child be before I can let him out on the street on his own? I can't answer this question easily because we always hear bad things. I think that security is the greatest issue but I don't think physical measures can prevent this, because the root of the problem is in the restless mood that the society is headed at, or the will to acquire too much too quickly. I mean, people may do very negative things just to gain more money and I think that poses a security risk, because it brings us to different relationships. That's the basic problem. My concern for myself is, having to get into many conflicts. Having to work with the same rhythm, even after you're 45-50 years old, is very tiring and creates health risks. That's what I'm concerned for myself but most of my concern is for my child.

Q: You came to Istanbul for University.

A: Yes.

Q: Before that, did you have any other options?

A: I didn't have any.

Q: Only Istanbul?

A: Actually, I'm not someone who began life with options. I actually don't know why I'm in Istanbul. I always wanted Istanbul and architecture but as to 'why' I wanted this, I don't have an explanation that I remember. I just wanted to study. Maybe it was a reflex, a reaction, because my family didn't send me over for two years. I had to work in our own workplace but at the end of two years, after I had them convinced, I grabbed the opportunity. Why architecture? Why Istanbul? I don't remember, but the thing that I can remember from my childhood is, we had a painting of Istanbul in our house and as to architecture, in the days that I didn't study, I was taking technical drawing classes and my teachers told me that I was good and supported me a little, maybe it was that. But I always thought about Istanbul and architecture. I actually didn't know that alternatives existed, maybe if I knew, I would consider them but this is totally... I can't say coincidental but I don't remember anything that could be an alternative for it.

Q: My question was something like, 'why not Ankara or Izmir?'

A: I actually don't know. I don't remember but I always wanted to be in Istanbul. I really don't know, I just remember that I wanted this a lot.

Q: Okay then. Do you frequently cross over to the Anatolian side?

A: I go there from time to time for my work.

Q: How would you describe it?

A: For me, the Anatolian side is another city.

Q: Why? Or How?

A: Let me tell you like this, I think that it is another city except for the settlements on the coast of the Bosphorus such as Uskudar and Kadikoy, it makes me feel like that. I shouldn't talk big like that but I don't think I can live there. It seems more like a residential area, like the summer vacation place of Istanbul, as it was in the past, it has that feeling. The Istanbul I like is at this side. The texture of the historical peninsula, and its original structure and dynamism. Maybe it's because of my habits, I've studied here in Yildiz Technical University, I lived in Besiktas, I was always around here, so the Anatolian side, after the bridge is like somewhere I go to for business or to

see my friends.

Q: If the Anatolian side were to be a human being, what kind of person it would be? Its age, its sex, its character etc...

A: An interesting question. The Anatolian side would be one of two siblings, the second child beside the family's pupil. I think this together with the European side. It's like a place in the shadow of the European side, the 'second' child, always in the second place.

Q: Why do you think so?

A: Istanbul is the European side. I think that I was reborn when I came to Istanbul. I opened my eyes and became another person right here. The European side has the historical texture of the historical peninsula, and I know this because I've been almost everywhere because of my profession. The Anatolian side's history is very recent, compared with the European side. The European side has been the center of world culture for thousands of years. The Anatolian side is a more recent settlement and I can't find the texture of Istanbul I like out there, apart from a couple of districts near the bosphorus. It makes me feel like a summer vacation place of Istanbul. And I always like to live in the center. The people choosing to live in the Anatolian side are those who don't want to live in the center, they're the ones choosing to live a calmer life, that's how I see it, that's one of the differences. So the Anatolian side always seems to me like the neglected little sibling of the European side. This dynamism makes me love this place more, I feel like I belong here. When I go to Besiktas, I feel at home but at the Anatolian side, it's a foreign place.

Q: Could you expand on 'feeling at home'? What makes you feel at home?

A: It's not a physical thing but, as I said, I came to Istanbul when I was 19 years old, and I became someone else. I came to Besiktas since I was studying in Yildiz Technical University. I stayed outside of Besiktas for some time but, Besiktas is a place with tiny, old, streets sometimes in bad condition and the relations, in a physical sense, are interconnected. It has historical places still in its texture, such as a curdle shop which was there for 50 years, it actually closed down this year, but there are places that you can eat at that were there for many years, you can build the shop-human connection there. There are other places like this of course, for example the Kadikoy bazaar

but, as I've spent most of my life here, and most of my memories are there, that makes me feel at home. Wherever I am in Istanbul, I feel the urge to go to BEsiktas once a week and I actually do that. I go to Besiktas on Sundays and eat my bagel there. I walk the streets.

Q: About 'feeling at home', is it a sense of security? Warmth?

A: No, not those. It's just I feel like I belong there and I feel like the place belongs to me, it's that kind of connection. Maybe that's comfort but, it feels like that's my place, my neighborhood. I've spent most of my life there. That's why I feel at home there.

Q: But you don't live there now.

A: I'm very close, Gayrettepe is actually a district of Besiktas. It's just 1.5-2 kilometers to Besiktas. I don't live in the center but I live at a walking distance. When I have to spend time outside, to go buy something or just to walk and breathe, that's where I prefer to go to.

Q: Are there any activities in your neighborhood, such as 'Let's make our neighborhood better' etc, that you can socialize and connect with people? If there are, do you participate? Or would you like there to be?

A: Actually I don't know if there's any. There are probably a few, or I see that the local municipality organizes some activities from the billboards but generally they are like feasts in this or that park. There isn't anything that grabs my attention. I even overheard a retired neighbor of mine saying 'I wish there was something like that to go'. There's not much possibility for such a place for people to gather there because Besiktas is very central and very close, and there are a lot of activities there and people are probably going. If you're talking about a neighborhood meeting that concerns the neighborhood, I've never participated in such a thing and I don't remember seeing something like that, except for a few activities such as concerts in the park. Would I want to take part? Maybe but it depends on what the activity is. I of course want to do something for the place I live in, but the main point in our lives is what can you do something with? It's a question for me, who can I do something with? There's a distrust at the root of this, maybe some lack of communication. There are people that I live in the same building but have never said hello. That's mostly about this.

Q: Are you content with the place you live in?

A: I generally am. I'm happy. But as I said, this is also related to my being here in Gayrettepe 3 years ago in my last home. I was really unhappy because we didn't have good relationships within the building and moved to some place that made me more happy. I'm generally happy where I live now and the only thing that can make me unhappy is poor human relations, like the one I had in my last home.

Q: So you move out when there are negativities?

A: Yes, I moved when I had to but I don't want it to be that way again. I remember this very clearly, when we moved here 3 years ago, we said "We're happy, this is what we were looking for." With my wife, we're generally happy.

## Interview 5

Q: What's your age group?

A: 30-49

Q: Your profession?

A: Orthodontist

Q: Your education level?

A: Ph. D.

Q: Where do you live in?

A: In Kozyatagi, in the Anatolian side of Istanbul.

Q: How long have you been there?

A: About... Since I moved to Istanbul, I'm living there. Suadiye and Kozyatagi are two very close districts of Istanbul in Kadikoy. When I first moved to Istanbul, I lived in Suadiye and now I'm living in Kozyatagi. It's not a very big change. I've always lived in two neighboring districts of Kadikoy. It's been about 5 years since I came to Istanbul and I lived there all the time.

Q: Could you describe it to me?

A: What kind of description would you like?

Q: I don't know about the place you live in. What is it like? What kind of area is it?

A: Okay then. Kadikoy is one of the most decent districts in Istanbul. I don't know if the concept of decent changes for people but, it's the most livable.

Q: What's decency for you?

A: It's about livability. It's about the profile of people living there, the socio-economical status. I think there are a few districts like that in Istanbul. Besiktas is one, Sisli is another and Kadikoy is the third. I think they are places where you can live a decent human life. And within the Kadikoy district, the neighborhoods of Kadikoy apart from the centre which is a little more chaotic, are more suitable to live a family life with your kids and wife. More secure, with less traffic and one of the most important factors for me, more trees on the streets. And architecturally, the houses there have some distance between them, there are trees in front of buildings, on the streets. That's the kind of place I live in. I live in a building complex in that neighborhood and I don't know many people in my complex apart from a



couple of neighbors I encounter in the elevator or at the door but I live in a place where I think people are more respectful of each other.

Q: You've talked about the people's profiles. How would you perceive this at first sight from the outside?

A: Actually when we simply look at them, one of the first things that give away a person is their outfit. I don't want to be segregationist but, I think that the people living around here are more modern, more European in style. Apart from that, I use public transportation while I'm commuting and the people I encounter there are that kind of people too. In case we have to talk, I feel that people are a little bit more respectful of each other in contrast with the rest of Istanbul.

Q: A second thing you've mentioned, the trees on the roads. Is this important and why?

A: Actually its importance for me may be something personal but having parks, gardens, green spaces around is something we all want in our community. Is it enough where I live? No, it's not enough but at least it's more than the rest of Istanbul and that makes me happy. Maybe it's because the place I grew up is somewhere in the North of Turkey famous for its green color, which is at the seaside. I've grown up in a green place near the sea until I was 18-20 years old and I prefer having that kind of thing around the place I live. When I go to somewhere like Mecidiyekoy in the European side, where buildings are closely spaced, I can't be very happy there. I had a friend who was living in such a place –and he actually moved out- I've never went to his place. When he told me that he lived there, I asked myself if I could bring myself to live out there.

Q: You're not actually from Istanbul. Where are you from?

A: I'm from Giresun, in the Northeast of Turkey.

Q: You were there until the University?

A: Yes.

Q: Could you describe Giresun a little? What was the physical environment while you were growing up?

A: It's a place like the one people talk about when they talk about the old days, such as "the neighborhoods used to be like this", "the friendships used to be like that", etc. I don't think it actually still is like that but still, compared

to Istanbul, I think that the neighborhood relationships still exist out there. It's a small city at the coast, its population is around 100-150.000, a small place. The neighborhood concept still exists, neighbors know each other, families of your classmates know each other. It's a place where when people want to know me, they ask me about my parents, and generally actually know them. I grew up in a place like that, then I moved to Ankara for University.

Q: What does it mean to have grown up in such a place? As it is very different from your current life.

A: Well I see both advantages and disadvantages of this. One of the advantages is that I've lived things that most people in Istanbul have never lived. I had the opportunity to live inside nature. I did things that they don't even understand when I tell them about. For example being close to animals, being in a farm, a lot of things that people here haven't even seen. Friendships were different than Istanbul. Actually I don't know if it's possible to compare the friendships I've had here in the last few years and the long ones over there. Old friendships are always different, maybe it would be different if I were to grow up in Istanbul but, when I compare Istanbul with Giresun... Giresun is more humane. As someone who has lived there, I'm not sure if I'd have the same human values if I grew up here instead of there. If I grew up here, maybe I'd be a little different person, in a bad way. As to disadvantages, of course you always compare the big city with the small one. The opportunities are not at all similar. If I had a child now, I'd want him to take advantage of everything possible. I'd want the child to live in a small city only because I'd like him to enjoy the things I did back then but as to the realistic side of life, the school I went to was one of the best in the city, it was an Anatolian Lycee, but the best school of my city was only mediocre in contrast with the schools in Istanbul. It puts you in a position where you feel like you're starting life from a couple of steps back. Be it career opportunities or things you want to do in the future; you have to work hard on your own for everything. It would be easier if you are in Istanbul.

Q: You went to Ankara for University. Did you have any other alternatives or you just chose Ankara?

A: No, actually my choice was Istanbul along with Ankara. The reason for Istanbul was that my Sister was here, she had graduated and was working for a company here. We wanted to be together as siblings. Ankara was one of my later choices and luck went that way. When I was in Ankara, I actually lived thinking about Istanbul.

Q: Why?

A: Not in the beginning. I came from a small city to one of the largest ones, actually the capital of Turkey, Ankara. The first years in Ankara were actually satisfying to a small city boy. I don't remember if I had plans about the life I'd live in the future. I don't remember if I thought things like "I want to live in that city in the future" etc. but I'd probably be able to live in Ankara, I liked it back then.

Q: So why didn't you?

A: My thoughts have changed in time. I've lived in Ankara for about 10 years after high school. I was working on my Ph. D for the last 3-4 years and during that time, Istanbul has started to intrude my mind. It was actually a career choice, no, not career, my career would be better if I stayed in Ankara but the financial conditions are better in Istanbul. I thought that I would find opportunities earn twice, thrice what I would in Ankara and I started thinking about Istanbul and I actually like Istanbul. My sister was here, I often went to Istanbul from Ankara 3-4 times a year even if it was just for visits. The last year, I decided to look for a job in Istanbul even though I had an offer in Ankara and at last I found not exactly the same but a similar position in Istanbul. That was what I wanted and I worked for it, and I actually came here within a week, a little bit like sneaking off from Ankara, I was accepted and I immediately moved here. It was somewhere I didn't know but I wasn't helpless. I came to my sister's place but after arranging my affairs, I left her place.

Q: You've said that you're living in a building complex. Why are you living there? Is it something specific?

A: I've never lived in a building complex before, this is my first time. Before moving here, I didn't have something like 'I should live in a complex' or not in my mind, or rather I thought that if I lived in an apartment building of 5-6 floors -I didn't want to live in very high buildings because of earthquake risks in Istanbul, I was looking for new buildings with 4-5 floors, I was going to get married etc. I wanted to have the neighborhood feeling, as we all know the complexes do not give that feeling. I don't know I'd like to have the drugstore right across from my building, etc. Something more like a small town. While I was looking for a home, I couldn't find what I was looking for. The house in the complex was more suitable to my financial condition. That's why I preferred it but I got used to it and if I had a new alternative with the same standards, one in an apartment building the other In a building complex, I'd choose the complex.

Q: Why?

A: Security. I'd prefer the complex for security.

Q: What do you mean by security?

A: Guarded by security guards, enclosed with walls and rails. Nobody from the outside can come in and if some guest from outside comes, you are notified.

Q: Did you ever live in the European side?

A: No I always lived in the Anatolian side.

Q: How do you perceive a new area you go to? It may be the feeling it gives you, or you look at the physical environment, what grabs your attention?

A: A new what? A new city?

Q: Maybe a region. For example a place you've never been to in Istanbul, a place you go to for the first time.

A: Okay, what I pay attention to in a place where I go for the first time. I look at people too much. It's the first thing I look at. And when I look at them, what I really look at is the safety of the place.

Q: How can you understand that?

A: It's actually about the things I said at first. There's the modern kind of people and there are the ones who are not. Unfortunately, the first thing I see is the thing they wear. Maybe the length, the greasiness of their hair, maybe the color of their skin. Because there's a kind of people that people are afraid

of in Turkey. When I see someone like that, even if one of them sits near me in the subway I look at them and then maybe I adjust the space between us accordingly. I don't know it's the right thing to do but I do it and I think everyone does it. And when I go to a new place, I always look at people. Apart from that, I pay attention to buildings a lot. Because when I go there, it's how I evaluate it. I first look at the people then to the buildings. And when I look at buildings, I say for example "I can't live here" or maybe "I can live here". When you asked the question, I thought of going to a bad place, maybe if I went to a nice place, I'd say "I can live here" looking at the buildings. For example, if there's a drugstore I look at it, to the market. I check to see if it's Migros or something else I've never heard before.

Q: What difference does it make if it's Migros or a simple drugstore?

A: It makes a little difference. Some kinds of stores are more common in places where certain people live and others are not. I don't know why but it's like that. I actually think about this, for example a Macro center doesn't exist everywhere. Migros is a little more widespread but there are places that Migros doesn't exist at all. The store profile in those places is a little different. The showcasing of vegetables in the stalls or the meat in the butcher, the things they put on display are different. There are places having known, reputed stores and there are places having local, unknown brands. I look at those.

Q: And what do those mean? You've talked about makro and Migros, what does the existence of Makro market in a place mean to you?

A: If there's a Makro Market, you know that everything inside is more expensive, and if it's more expensive, the people living there... I don't know if this association can be made, but at least it gives the impression. Someone shopping at Makro Market is more modern, the place is maybe safer. My wife can go there alone but maybe she can't at the other place and maybe even I don't want her to.

Q: You said that you live in Kozyatagi. Could you describe there to me as a region? What is it like? What kind of district is it?

A: Actually the things I said at the beginning, the things I've said about Kadikoy also apply to Kozyatagi. It's somewhere that more modern minded people live in. There's this urban transformation stuff going on but, as these

areas have become residential areas later than other parts, the zoning is a bit more planned, the buildings are more widely spaced, they are not too high, there are trees and gardens between buildings etc. I think that's because this is a newer residential area. And in the times when the center of Istanbul was the historical Peninsula, Topkapi, Fatih, etc, this region, Kadikoy region was the region containing the summer houses of the people living there. Maybe a lot of people don't know this but they are now living in the summer house zone of the time. Maybe they have escaped from here after the overcrowding began, I don't know. Maybe they are still here living in buildings.

Q: You seem satisfied with the place you live in.

A: Yes I actually am.

Q: Is there anything that bothers you, that you're not satisfied with?

A: I've never thought about it because I think it's a more advantageous place than many other places. It's actually not really near to where I work but I got used to it. Maybe it's hard to relocate after you get used to some place, but I can't think of something I'm not satisfied with because when I compare it with where people around me live in, it's a better place and that's why I think there's nothing that bothers me.

Q: It's okay if there isn't.

A: Actually there seems to be none. I'll tell you if I think of one.

Q: If the European and Asian sides of Istanbul were human beings, what kind of persons they would be? Their ages, sexes, characters... Or would they be the same person?

A: They'd be different persons for sure. When I first came here I was at the end of my 20s and those were the years that I wanted to enjoy Istanbul. I'd just finished my Ph. D, had started working and earning money. Istanbul was a new and beautiful city and I wanted to look around, socialize with my friends, those were my more social years. I came from Ankara to the Anatolian side of Istanbul and it reminds me of Ankara a little, which also has the taste of Istanbul. But if I move to the European side in the coming years, it'll be a little bit more of a change for me. I live in Kadikoy, near the Avenue and when I get off work, the places I go, where I meet my friends or go shopping, it's always around there. And that's one of the most elite places in the Anatolian side and that's where I actually live. When I have to get

something done, I go there. My work, shopping, meeting friends.. It's Bagdat Avenue for me just like it's Beyoglu for some people. Like a meeting point. I evaluate the young people that I see when I look around, and I evaluate those I see in the European side. By young people, I mean the young people who are around me where I am. Maybe I can't describe it well but the boys and girls in the Anatolian side... how superficial I am... but when I evaluate the boys and girls, here the girls put on more makeup, dress up in branded clothes and like to show it off in the Anatolian side, in Bagdat Avenue. Of course the Anatolian side can change between the Avenue and Kadikoy's center. Kadikoy's center is a place where many students who came from Anatolia live, and that would be another comparison. Here both boys and girls dress up in the most expensive shoes and clothes they have and they try to show it off. Boys look like they've been to a gym, they try to look better groomed just like the girls with their make-ups and their bags etc

. Let's say that I go out in the evening to a restaurant or a club. I'm talking about my age group and its environs. In Taksim, in Cihangir, in Sishane, when I go to a bar there, the people look like that too but the girls are more careless but not in a disturbing way or even more attractive. And the boys look like that too. People who do not try to show off, who are more intellectual. That's why if I have to think of one side as male and the other as female in certain ages, I think it won't be very effective. This is a comparison I do within me, that's why I told you. But if we have to give a character to the Anatolian side, it seems like a retired person in their 50s 60s, and the European side seems like someone in their 30s, maybe in a suit, a little more serious. About the sex, I can't make a distinction. Maybe I can make a distinction about age and character. The Anatolian side seems more planned, organized, someone who makes solid decisions whereas the European side seems to live day to day, unplanned.

Q: Finally, what does home mean to you? It may be the four walls of your house, or your building complex, your street, your city. When do you feel at home, where do you feel at home?

A: I'd say that my home is Istanbul. Because I love this city, I came here after loving it. I like living in Istanbul. The place I sleep, the place I eat and sleep is

in the Anatolian side, it's a more secure place for my wife, for my family. But roaming in the European side and going to sleep in the Anatolian side is important to me. I like the European side, I like the place we're in now. My home is Istanbul but, just the Istanbul that people see on TV and want to go to, not anyplace else.



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